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EXTRACTS

From Zinzendorf's Diary of his second, and in part of his third journey among the Indians, the former to Shekomeko, and the other among the Shawanese, on the Susquehanna.

Translated from a German MS., in the Bethlehem Archives.

By Eugene Schaeffer.

Shamokin, on the Banes of the Susquehanna, (the present Sunbury) September 29th, 1742.

Beloved Followers of the Lamb:

I purpose giving you an account of my second, and, so far as is possible, of my third journey among the Indians. I do not commit anything to writing, and have in truth no gift for narrating; and I have, therefore, not kept my Bethlehem brethren informed in regard to my travels. You must, in fact, attribute it entirely to our Sabbath rest, and our comfortable quarters here, that I express my thoughts at present.

As I am very imperfect in this matter, and withal very forgetful, and as the want of a secretary still exists, and is particularly apparent in the fact that some things are entirely omitted, while others are mentioned twice, I will leave it in the hands of my dear brethren Spangenberg and Hermann to select the best from this diary.

We began our journey on the 10th of August; the main party consisting of my dear brother Anton,* Benigna,† and myself. On the 11th, we crossed the Blue Mountains, with much labor for the horses, and continued on our way toward Sopus.‡

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* Anthony Seifferth, the first Moravian Pastor ordained in America, having been appointed to take charge of the church in Georgia, organized in 1736.

† Zinzendorf's daughter, the Countess Benigna, afterward married to Baron John de Watteville.

‡ Sopus, or Esopus, was the present Kingston, in Ulster County, N. Y.

In the evening we arrived on the shores of the Delaware, and were received into the house of a rich and influential man named Poure, under whose roof we spent several days.

On the 13th we proceeded on our journey, and that night reached the house which stands in the midst of the great wilderness of the Minnisinks.* Early next morning, we made our way on horseback through the rest of the forest, and came to Menbacos and Marmol, where we, with some trouble, succeeded in getting a lodging-place. The many examinations we had to undergo were very grevious, especially since they were conducted with evil intent.

On the 14th, we came through Hurley to Sopus, and, having set out again about noon, we crossed the North River toward evening. By noon of next day we were at the house of Brother Jacob Maul, and then kept on our way through a fearful wilderness full of morasses, till 1 o'clock that night.

On the 16th, we reached our dearly beloved Shekomeko, where Brother Rauch lodged me in his hut for the night. At an early hour, however, on the following day, we moved into a palace of bark which stood ready for us. This was the prettiest little house in which I have ever lived. A table was immediately prepared, and I sat on the ground and had every convenience.

Here we spent eight days, which were not without trials from within; from without we had rain; from the side of the Indians, however, a fair sky, and every day new cause for rejoicing.

These savages are of the Mohican nation, an inferior caste, so to speak; the Maquines (Mohawks) living about them are, on the contrary, the most important, although, at the same time, the most idle of the Six Nations.

The Mohicans are a rich, but drunken, god-forsaken, tyrannical and quarrelsome people, and Brother Rauch, at first, stood in danger of his life among them; but after he had succeeded in gaining over the most notorious brawler and drunkard, the good work at once progressed.

We found this same man, who is now called John, a great teacher among them; and the three brethren, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, whom we baptized at Oley, we were enabled to appoint, the one an elder, the other a sexton, and the third an exhorter. These four

* Flats east of the Delaware Water Gap, formerly the seat of Delaware Indians.

Indians, incomparable in spirit and disposition, are true men of God among the tribe, and constitute a conference whose meetings we have often attended with astonishment. O how deeply ashamed we feel before these brethren, who must help themselves in the Saviour's work with a language which is hardly better than a goose-cackle, while we, possessed of a language like that of the gods, can scarce express our hearts' emotions!

Every day had its peculiar blessing, and we spent our time in visiting, putting in order the various matters of the congregation, and caring for the spiritual welfare of the brethren. In this manner eight days passed by.

After having publicly taken an affectionate leave, we set out on our return, in the feeling of a reciprocated love, and we will probably not soon be lost from their memories.

On the 25th, we again crossed the North River; and because Sopus is the Sodom of the Government of New York, we passed through it by night, in order not to be obliged to spend the Sunday there.

After much trouble we were received at a house beyond Hurley, and, although I spent the whole day in the forest, I could not escape the evil which had been determined against me. On the same evening, an officer came to my room and found me and Benigna writing hymns. In the name of the king, he solemnly forbade us, and left in a stormy passion. Next morning, about five o'clock, as soon as we had arisen, he sent a constable who arrested me, Benigna and Anton, and brought us to Hurley. We were accused, and, without a hearing, convicted of Sabbath-breaking; were fined eighteen shillings and then dismissed with much bitterness, because no more serious charge could be brought against us. I think nothing would have pleased them better than to have sent us bound, as mockers of God and the king, to New York.

On the 29th, we pushed our way through the great forest across the Blue Mountains, and came to Nazareth that night.

On the 30th, we arrived at Bethlehem, where, on the 15th of September, we baptized David and Joshua, our two Indian fellow-travellers on our third expedition. Conrad* determined to be our

* Conrad Weisser, the Indian Agent and Interpreter of the Colony of Pennsylvania, a distinguished man in his day.

leader in the journey among the Shawenese; but before giving any further account of it, I wish to speak of the plan of this journey.

I do not feel disposed to go directly among the Six Nations and begin my labors in their regular villages; but wish to bring them to reflection through their own people; and for this reason. Through the conduct of the French and English, the Indians have acquired, among other wickedness, a hatred for religious matters; so that I apprehend when I preach among them, they will judge, from the similarity of our manner of speech, that we are the same sort of people. But I am in a manner situated like the Dutch in Japan, they are afraid of being European Christians, and I hesitate to be one.

In my first conference with the Six Nations, I, therefore, requested to be regarded as standing on quite a different footing, and asked them to have patience with me if I did not at once preach great sermons. I represented to them that my method was entirely peculiar; that I was intimately acquainted with the Great Spirit; and I expressed the wish that they would allow us to live in their towns as friends, until we had learned to know one another better.

And since, in the first place, I do not wish to appear to these nations as a religious Don Quixote, and, moreover, do not desire to mingle with them too freely, from reasons of policy and personal safety, I have chosen three places as centres of operation. The first is Shamokin, eighty miles from Tulpehocken, the residence of the kings of the Oneidas and Delawares; the second is Ostonwacken,* forty miles from Shamokin, where Madame Montour, an Indianized French lady lives; and the third, Skehantowa,† one hundred miles from Ostonwacken, inhabited by the whole nation of the Shawanese intermingled with various other tribes. At these places I propose to stay a longer or shorter time, making such observations as I may be able; so that the journey may last upward of fifty days, if all goes fairly.

The Six Nations and the Shawanese are alike in this respect, that they are admirable warriors after their kind; the friends of friends, and of enemies the most implacable enemies; but they

* An Indian town north of Shamokin, or Sunbury, on the west branch of the Susquehanna.

† The plains near Wilkesbarre, Pa.

also have very correct ideas of honor and honesty, as is proved by their customs and their dealings.

But to proceed to our third expedition.

Benigna could, this time, not accompany us on account of the difficulty of the journey, and we therefore took affectionate leave of her, as also of Anton and Rosina.

For several hours of the night we travelled on in pitchy darkness, over hill and dale, in the thick woods between the long meadow and the Oley hills. I received a bruise on the cheek, leaving a scar; and a much severer one on the left eye, with, however, no serious consequences.

During the night we reached the Oley boundary, and spent several days in that neighborhood.

On our way to Tulpehocken, Peter Böhler resolved to accompany us; and the Indian Joshua also suddenly came to the same determination.

On the 25th of September, we crossed a very high mountain, almost impassable on account of the sharp and precipitous rocks. These mountains having as yet no name, Conrad called them the Mountains of Thürnstein.* At their foot we encamped for the night, and were contented and happy in our roomy tent.

We now set out once more, and soon reached the lovely Susquehanna, and keeping along its banks we, at length, came to the entrance of Shamokin. This is so rugged and steep a mountain that I have hardly seen its equal; but we all got safely across. Anna,† went on before, for she is our greatest heroine. She wore a long riding habit, to the train of which I held fast; Conrad held on to the skirt of my coat, and Böhler had hold of Conrad's. In this way we all felt more compassed, and gained additional security. Toward evening we arrived at Shomokin, where Conrad, to his great surprise, was most cordially received by Shikellimy, king of the Oneidas. The chief pressed my hand, numberless times, and at once began to inquire of Conrad what my mission was.

Conrad repeated what he had told him on a former occasion; namely, that I was a servant of the Living God, but not of the kind of which several had presented themselves to him; that I labored quietly, and did not preach works, but grace and mercy.

* In honor of Zinzendorf, one of whose titles was Lord of Thürnstein.

† Anna Nitschmann.

Shikellimy was glad that such a messenger had come among his nation. To-day, 29th September, he came into my tent. I seated myself between him and Conrad, and requested an audience. I then explained to him the object of my visit, wherewith he expressed himself much pleased, and promised to do his part in assisting me.

Meanwhile, it pleased the Lord to try our faith. David, one of our Indians, frightened by the length of the journey, could not go any further. Our brother Joshua was taken sick, but kept in good spirits. I was dissatisfied with David because he was so fretful, and told him to turn back while there was yet time; but he remained very low-spirited, and I found that all was in vain so long as I did not hit upon the precise cause of the evil. On the fourth morning, however, the moment I touched upon the proper point, the gloom was dispelled, and his cheerfulness and docility returned.

In their intercourse with the Indians, the brethren should particularly bear this in mind, that they must by no means trust to guessing, when they wish to give them the reason for something of which they themselves already know the reason. They must use patience and wisdom; for chagrin, frivolity, shame, grief and mortification, have much the same appearance among these Indians. They have only one pleasant look, and that is when they behold the wounds of the Lamb; otherwise they generally wear a dull and unhappy expression of countenance. Their heavy Indian corn generates thick blood, and clogs the spirit. In general, it is a great error, and perhaps even craftiness, when the Indians are represented among Europeans as a much happier race than ourselves. This is not by any means true. Their going naked, or covered only with blankets, passes with us for philosophy; it is, however, nothing but beggarly poverty. A gipsy and an Indian differ in this respect, that an Indian does not steal; but I think rather because he is afraid than because he is honest. An Indian most gladly accepts of shirts, horse-covers, or anything of that kind that may serve to clothe his poor body.

They have an aversion to pantaloons and caps, because they are too close for them. The bareness of the head, however, exposes all weakly constitutions among them to violent and frequent headaches; and the exposure of the lower parts of the body causes fever and swellings, and a general condition of sickness. And,

although they do not change their mode of life, they are very much like ourselves: *"video meliora etc."*

Whoever is born in these parts ordinarily lives a shorter time than the generality of men in other parts of the world. A woman of forty years is here considered aged. There are, indeed, some Indians who are old; but they are so uncertain about their age, that a man who, in his own estimation, numbers probably near a hundred years, may, possibly, be about fifty in the judgment of some one else. Nevertheless he is so despised and forsaken, that one may well believe him to be as old as he thinks; as for instance, Captain John's father, who, as I have been told, was left to die of hunger.

The Iroquois are more prudent than other savages, and are governed by certain rules and ordinances. Among them the maxim prevails: "A tiger at home is a hare in the field, and a lion in the field is a lamb at home." Their whole life is directly opposed to Christianity. It is spent in the chase and on the war-path; and these warlike expeditions extend so far from their own country that they cannot be matters of necessity, but must be incited by nothing but old unsatisfied revenge.

The Iroquois have a parliament of Sachems or Elders, at Onondago. What is in Europe called a king, is with them a tyrant, who carries the day in this parliament, because it is thought best not to let matters proceed from words to blows; and if a proper idea of our king is not given them, and the title alone is used, they regard him in the same light. I hear nothing among them of a King or Kings of the Six Nations; but of Sachems, Judges and Elders; I notice, however, at the same time, that in their state speeches they call the king of England, Sachem, so that these terms may amount to about the same thing.

The Delawares have a heriditary prince, who is called King in Philadelphia; and the Shawanese also call their chief King, but whether his office is hereditary or not, I do not know.

Their polity is like that of the Romans, at the time of the Consulate, except that they make war upon the adjoining regions without conquering them. They, however, resemble the Israelites in these respects, that their revenge descends from children to children's children, and that they erect pillars, or cast up mounds, over the graves of their heroes.

They are the most determined enemies of labor, and will sooner suffer the most pinching want than engage in work. If an Indian puts his hand to anything, he either is a child of God, or he has from association acquired the spirit of covetousness, the root of all evil, which, in this case, however, is not bent upon heaping up riches, but upon wearing fine clothes and drinking rum.

Our beloved brethern at Shekomeko have taken to cultivating the ground, are properly clad, keep their huts clean, and by no means allow rum or any strong drink to be brought into their town, either for use or abuse.

To-day being Sunday, we were anxious to pray the litany, but on account of the boisterous conduct of the Indians, we hardly knew how to proceed. I sent Conrad to the Sachem Shikellimy to inform him that we wished to speak with our God; and he had hardly returned when the drums and music and voices of the Indians were silent, so that not a sound was to be heard.

On the 30th of September, we set out upon our way. The Sachem showed us the ford across the Susquehanna, which is a most beautiful stream. It is much broader than the Delaware, and if it were not for the many smooth stones at the bottom, it would not be difficult to cross.

The regions through which we passed are very fertile, although entirely uncultivated and overgrown.

During the whole journey, I have not yet seen a snake, although the forest is said to be full of them, as also of bears and other wild animals. Especially along the Susquehanna are these reptiles said to abound most, lying in wait in the bushes, ready to spring at the throats of the passers by.

We spent two nights on the road. During the last night the most of our horses strayed off, probably some ten miles. There was a heavy fall of rain, and, since we could not move forward, Conrad rode on with the rest of the horses to Ostonwacken, and, in a short time, returned with the son of old Madame De Montour; the horses meanwhile coming back from another direction.

This man's face is like that of any other European; but all around it he had a broad ring of bear's grease and paint, after the Indian fashion. He wore a cinnamon colored coat of fine cloth, a black neck cloth with silver spangles, a red damask vest, pantaloons, shoes, stockings and a hat; and both his ears were orna-

mented with brass and other wire twisted together like the handles of a little basket.

His name is Andreé; he received us cordially, and when I addressed him in French, he answered in English.

We now proceeded, our approach being heralded by salutes, which were repeated when we arrived at the huts of the Indians. Here we dismounted and entered the cabin of the old Madame.

Her husband had been a war chief, and had been killed in battle. Upon seeing us she wept bitterly, and when I spoke of our affairs, and among other things remarked that we had named our town Bethlehem, she observed that the town in France, where Jesus and the holy family dwelt, was also named Bethlehem. I inferred from this that what is commonly reported of the French Missionaries is most probably true, namely, that they taught that Christ was a Frenchman and the English were his crucifiers; since this woman, born a Christian, did herself not know otherwise but that Bethlehem lay in France.

Without trying to clear up this misapprehension, I at once told her of our plans and intentions, and answered all her questions from the fullness of the heart, although in very few words, because I wished to keep myself very retired for a few days.

With Anna she soon became very intimate, and told her how tired she was of living among the Indians.

It proves a hindrance in our work, both among the heathen and among Christians, when my birth becomes known; for since they are far from looking upon matters in a spiritual light, they regard them in a worldly one. It is, therefore, not a good recommendation, and I am very careful to keep my rank a secret; but an evil-disposed world takes a pleasure in publishing it.

And now, dear brethren, I must again dispatch Conrad. The brethren at Shamokin are awaiting his return, as also the Sachem Shikellamy, who will be our leader among the wild Shawanese.

It seems Monsieur De Montour, who is acquainted with all the Indian languages, likewise, intends to accompany us.

Remember us and all our fellow travellers.*

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* The journal, of which the above are extracts, was begun at Shamokin and finished at Oschwacken. Zinzendorf's second journey to the Indians extended from the 10th of August to the 30th of the same month, and his third, from September 24th to November 9th, all in the year 1742.

THE CATECHISM OF THE BOHEMIAN BRETHREN.

Translated from the old German, with an Introduction.

By Edmund de Schweinitz.

In as much as it is not the object of the Moravian Historical Society to elucidate American Moravian History "to the exclusion of the general history of the Church," we here present an article relating to ancient days, when our Continent still lay in the shadow of barbarism, and had been known to the world for but a little more than a quarter of a century. It sets forth the earliest Catechism of the Brethren which has come down to us, and which, probably, is the oldest work of this kind in the possession of any evangelical church.

An history of the same, together with other introductory facts bearing upon this subject, will, in the first place, be proper.

The Bohemian Brethren devoted great attention to Catechisms, and made constant use of them when giving religious instruction, especially to the young. In their German Confession, published at Wittenberg, in 1573, they say: "In addition to the Holy Scriptures, we teach the Catechism, that is, the doctrines which the old Church and the holy Fathers held in common, and the oral instructions which they delivered, constituting the kernel of, and the key to, the entire Bible." . . . . . "This Catechism our preachers recognize as an established standard, and as a proper method and register for all their instructions, sermons and writings. Hence, with faithful care, they give all diligence to inculcate deeply in the hearts of Christians, and engraft wholly in the minds and lives of their hearers, the entire body of Truth contained in these first and fundamental principles of religion." . . . . "In the same way, they instruct little children, also, so that from their youth upward they may be practiced in the chief articles of the divine covenant, and learn to understand the true service of God. Therefore, too, special services

for the children are instituted." . . . . . "In particular, however, is the Catechism, with its first principles of true religion, diligently taught to young people that begin Christian life, before they are admitted to the Lord's Table, which serves to lead them to true repentance, as well as to the power and grace of faith."*

From the *Ratio Disciplinæ* we learn that the Deacons and Acolyths were specially charged with instructing the young in the Catechism;† and that there were separate meetings held for this purpose. Speaking of the services of the Lord's day, this document says: "In the summer season also, beginning at Easter, there is added a fifth meeting at noon; when the youth are assembled, and for their benefit catechetical instruction is given in as popular a manner as possible, and they are also individually questioned. However, the parents and others likewise attend, both that they may return thanks to God after having taken refreshment, and that they may be present at the instruction of their children and domestics."‡

We know of various Catechisms of the Bohemian Brethren. The first appeared in 1505, in the Bohemian tongue, and was entitled, *Dětinské otázky*, or "Questions for Children." This, unfortunately, is no longer extant."§

Next was published the one which we give in the following pages. Then came a Catechism translated from the Bohemian into German, by John Cyrek, in 1551 and 1555, and dedicated to Duke Albert of Prussia, in whose domains many exiled Brethren were at that time, living. It bears this title: *Catheeismus der recht-gläubigen Böhmischen Brüder, welche der Antichrist mit seinem gottlosen Anhang verfolget, und aus teuflischen Eingeben, Hass, Neid und Unwahrheit für Verführer, Piccarden und Waldenser u.s.w. schilt und lästert. Allen rechtschaffenen Gläubigen zum Trost und wahren Bericht verdeutscht durch Johannem Cyrek, Strigensem, Pfarherrn zu Neidenburgh in Preussen.* This Catechism is reprinted in "Ehwalt's Alte und Neue Lehre der Böhmischen und Mährischen Brüder,"

* Köcher's Glaubensbekenntnisse der Böhmischen Brüder, p. 170.

† Schifferth's Church Constitution, p. 110 and 111.

‡ Ibid, p. 135.

§ Gindely's Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder, p. 122.

¶ Die Alte und Neue Lehre der Böhmischen und Mährischen Brüder. Johann Gottfried Ehwalt, Dantzig, 1756, p. 1—291.

which work contains, likewise, a Latin translation of the same, found by the author, in manuscript form, in the Library of Dantzig. In 1560, Gyrek published a second part of his Catechism, entitled: *Das ander Theil des Cathecismi, das ist Lehre und Bericht von der heiligen Tauf, Beicht, Vergebung (oder Auflösung) der Sünden, und dem Abendmahl des Herrn, desgleichen von der ewigen Seligkeit u.s.w. Gezogen aus gemeiner Lehr der rechtgläubigen Böhmischen Brüder. Für die jungen Christen durch Johanem Gyrck von Strelen. Gedruckt zu Königsberg in Preussen,* 1560. This is also reprinted in Ehwalt's work.*

In 1616, appeared the following: *Catechesis christiana, ad instituendam piam juventutem conscripta in qua summa doctrinæ Dei proponitur et explicatur. Ex Boëmico idiomate in latinum translata Anno* 1616. This work has a preface by the Bishops and Ministers of the Unitas Fratrum, and was, probably, adopted at the same Synod of Zerawitz which issued the *Ratio Disciplinæ*. The original Bohemian from which it was translated was published at Berlin, by Elsner, of whom subsequently, in 1748. It commonly bore the title of the "Greater Catechism," in contradistinction to the "Shorter," which existed both in German and Polish. Ehwalt gives it entire in running foot notes under Gyrek's Catechism.†

Finally, after the expulsion of the Church from her original seats, John Amos Comenius published while in exile at Amsterdam, in 1661, a Catechism which he called: *"Die uralte christliche catholische Religion, in kurze Frag und Antwort verfasset. Vor alle Christen-Menschen, Alt und Jung, nützlich zu gebrauchen. Gedruckt in Amsterdam im Jahr* 1661.' It is dedicated as follows: *Allen frommen hin und her zerstreuete Häuflein Christi, sonderlich denen von F. G. G. K. K. S. S. usw. wünsche Ich Gnad und Fried Gottes durch die Heiligung des Geistes und Besprengung des Bluts Christi.* That is, "To all the pious sheep of Christ, scattered here and there, particularly to those of Ulneck, Gersdorf, Gedersdorf, Klöten, Klandorf, Stechwalde, Hendorf, and Zauchtenthal, grace and peace from God, through sanctification of the Spirit and sprinkling of the blood of Christ." This Catechism, too, is

* Ehwalt's Alte und Neue Lehre, p. 291.
† Ibid p. 16—290.

reprinted by Ehwalt.* It was one of the means which Comenius employed to preserve the memory of his venerable Church, in view of her renewal; and, as is well known, refugees came to Herrnhut from all the villages which he mentions, and were instrumental in building up the present Unitas Fratrum.

Besides these Catechisms, all of which, with the exception of the first, are now before us, brief notices of several others occur. A short but very remarkable one came out at Bremen, in 1615, in Greek, Latin, Bohemian and German, printed in parallel columns, and entitled: *Summa Catechismi, in usum scholarum orthodoxarum Unitatis Fratrum in Bohemia et Moravia, graece, latine, bohemice, et germanice, Bremæ*, 1615. Next John Gottlieb Elsner, who was Pastor of the Bohemian Church at Berlin, about the middle of the last century, and who translated into German the History of Persecutions in Bohemia, mentions another small Catechism published in Polish and in German, without, however, adducing the title. This was, no doubt, the "Shorter Catechism," to which we have referred, and an extract from the "Greater." Elsner himself republished a German Catechism of the Bohemian Brethren, at Berlin, in 1748, which forms probably the same work in substance. The following additional Catechisms are mentioned by Köcher: *De præcipuis articulis religionis Christianæ quæstiones cum responsibus ex S. Sciptura per Weleslawina, Pragae*, 1591; *Christianæ juventutis instituendæ rudimenta an.* 1607; and *Triplex modus catechizandi a fratribus Bohemis institutus.*† Of these works, so far as our sources reach, nothing further is known.

From all this it appears, that the Brethren, independently of the Tetraglott which was edited at Bremen, possessed Catechisms in the Bohemian, German, Polish and Latin tongues. We doubt not that still other works of this kind lie concealed in the Libraries of the Austrian States, and hope they will be brought to light by Palacky or Gindely.

Returning to the Catechism which follows, we find that it was written by Bishop Luke of Prague, in 1521, in Bohemia, translated forthwith into German, as has been supposed, by Joh[illegible] the subsequent Bishop, and published in 1522, simultaneou[illegible]

* Ehwalt's Alte und Neue Lehre, p. 441—516.

† Köcher's Catechetische Geschichte, Jena, 1768. p. 20—28.

both these languages. Zeschwitz, who has written a work specially devoted to a critical examination of it, and of the Waldensian Catechism ("Die Katechismen der Waldenser und Böhmischen Brüder," Erlangen, 1863), as well as to a comparison between the two, succeeded in discovering, in various Libraries, ten old copies, printed at different times, from 1522 to 1530. The most ancient of these is the copy in the Library at Dresden. From this, which he reprints, our translation is made, by the aid, however, of that which Ehwalt gives (p. 351 to 377), and which, as its title page tells us, was published nine years after the original first appeared, in order to present a faithful reproduction of the same, because alterations had been made in the other copies.

It was our Catechism to which Luther took exception, particularly to that point which forbids the adoration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And when Luke sent a fraternal deputation to him, he begged for a further explanation of this point. It was given in a little work entitled, "Of the Triumphant Truth," translated for the Reformer from the Bohemian into Latin. Thereupon Luther published, in 1523, his work, "Vom Anbeten des Sacraments des heiligen Leichnams Jesu Christi, an die Brüder in Böhmen und Mähren, Waldenses genannt." To this Luke replied very sharply, upholding his position that there must be no adoration of the sacrament. But here the controversy stopped.

The Waldensian Catechism, which Zeschwitz also reprints, is, in its first part, almost identical with ours. An interesting question thus arises. To which of the two belongs priority of age?

Modern criticism has rendered notorious the falsifications of which the Waldenses have been guilty in their literature. Dieckhoff, who is the leader in these investigations, accordingly pronounces the Waldensian Catechism a plagiarism from that of the Brethren ("Die Waldenser im Mittelalter," Göttingen, 1851). Zeschwitz comes to the rescue, and, with many pages of labored proof, given in anything but a lucid style, seeks to establish the converse, at least in so far, that the Brethren's Catechism was written under the influence of the Waldensian, to which he assigns the year 1498, as its date. Palacky, whose authority is supreme on such a subject, in his most recent publication, "Ueber die Beziehungen und das Verhältniss der Waldenser zu den ehemaligen Secten in Böhmen," Prague, 1869, destroys Zeschwitz's

formidable arguments with a few strokes of his pen. He reaches, in substance, the following conclusions:

1. That the Bohemian Hussites were both the scholars and the teachers of the Waldenses, but more the latter than the former.

2. That the supposition of Zeschwitz, that Luke of Prague gained new and more enlightened views among the Waldenses of France and Italy, on the occasion of his visit to them in 1497, and promulgated the same among the Brethren, is without any foundation whatever.

3. That the data according to which Zeschwitz decides in favor of the priority of the Waldensian Catechism are quite insufficient, and do not justify such a decision.

4. That many questions and answers of the Catechism of the Brethren are verbatim the same as the corresponding ones in an old Bohemian Catechism, which he has recently discovered in the Imperial Library of Vienna, which was written prior to the year 1414, as he presumes, but does not positively affirm, by John Huss, and which he intends soon to publish in a Latin version.

Hence, it is very probable that this old Catechism underlies the one we have translated; that the latter is, therefore, a legitimate offspring of a work by the great forerunner and teacher of the Brethren; that Dieckhoff's surmise touching the plagiarism of the Waldenses is correct; and that the Catechism of the Bohemian Brethren is the oldest which any evangelical church can claim.

A few words are necessary with regard to our translation. The Catechism is written in the old German of the beginning of the fifteenth century. Many parts of it are exceedingly obscure, and made still more so either by faulty punctuation, or the entire want of the same. We have endeavored to render it as literally as possible. Whenever this could not be done, we have given a free translation. Words inclosed in brackets are occasionally inserted in order to make the meaning clearer. Those references to the Bible which we have put in foot-notes are not in the original, nor are the texts which occur in any way designated as Scriptural language.

Our sincere thanks are due to the Rev. Lewis F. Kampman of Bethlehem, for the aid which he gave us in the critical examination of some of the obscurest passages, and to Mr. William C.

Malin, of Philadelphia, for the loan of several of the very rare and valuable works which we have cited in this Introduction.

EIN CHRISTLICHE
UNTTERWEYSUNG DER
KLAYNEN KINDER JM GELAU-
BEN, DURCH EIN WEYSZ
EINER FRAG.
M. D. XXIJ.

OR:

CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION IN THE FAITH,

FOR LITTLE CHILDREN,
IN THE FORM OF QUESTIONS.
1522.

1. *What art thou?*

A rational creature of God, and a mortal.

2. *Why did God create thee?*

That I should know and love him, and, having the love of God, that I should be saved.

3. *Upon what does thy salvation depend?*

Upon three divine graces.

4. *What are these?*

Faith, love and hope.

5. *Prove that.*

St. Paul says: "And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, but the greatest of these is charity."*

6. *What is the first ground of thy salvation?*

Faith.

7. *Prove that.*

St. Paul says to the Jews: "Without faith it is impossible to please God, for he that cometh to God must belive that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him."†

8. *What is faith?*

St. Paul says: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."‡

9. *Of what faith art thou?*

Of the universal Christian.

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* 1 Cor. xiii. 13. † Heb. xi. 6. ‡ Heb. xi. 1.

10. *What faith is that?*

"I believe in God the Father, Almighty Maker of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, Our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen."

11. *Are there more kinds of faith than one?*

There are, namely, a living and a dead faith.

12. *What is dead faith?*

It is to believe that there is a God, and that He has revealed himself through His Word, but not to believe in God.*

13. *What is living faith?*

It is to believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

14. *What is meant by believing in God the Lord?*

To know God, to be in unison with His Word, to love Him above all, to accept His promises, to be a doer of His Word, and to unite with His faithful ones.

15. *What is the evidence that a man believes in God?*

That he knows and fulfils His commandments.

16. *Dost thou know the commandments of God?*

I do.

17. *What are they?*

God spake through Moses to the children of Israel: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord."†

I. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me."‡

II. "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments."

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might; and thy neighbor as thyself."§

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* This answer is not translated literally, of which the genius of our language does not admit, but is rather a paraphrase of the original. It is based upon the three forms of definition touching faith which were universal among the Brethren, and which they received from John Huss, who borrowed them from the Scholastics, namely, *credere de Deo, credere Deo, credere in Deum.* The first relates to the truth of God's existence; the second to the truth of His revelation through His Word, and the third to the meaning and intent of this revelation, in so far as men appropriate to themselves what He gives, and consecrate themselves to Him in love and life.

† Deut. vi. 4. ‡ Ex. xx. 3–17. § Deut. vi. 5, Matt. xxii. 37 and 39.

III. "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain."

IV. "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: In it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore, the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it."

V. "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

"And he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death."*

VI. "Thou shalt not kill."

VII. "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

VIII. "Thou shalt not steal."

IX. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

X. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's."

18. *On what do these commandments hang?*

On loving God the Lord above all things.

19. *How is it known whether a man loves God?*

In that he loves his neighbor.

20. *What is love to our neighbor?*

It is to do to him as to ourselves, and not to wish him what we do not wish ourselves.

21. *In what do the commandments of God end?*

In love.

21. *What is love?*

St. John says: "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him."†

23. *What is the foundation of love?*

The Lord Jesus Christ, even as St. Paul says: "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."‡

24. *What does St. Paul mean by this saying?*

Faith in Christ.

25. *What is faith in Christ?*

It is to accept His promises, to know Him, to be in communion with Him, and, loving Him, to be one body with Him and His members.

26. *By what is it known whether a man believes in Christ?*

By his loving Him; and a man does love Him, if he keeps His

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* Ex. xxi. 17. † 1 John iv. 16. ‡ 1 Cor. iii. 11.

commandments, even as He says himself: "If ye love me, keep my commandments."* "He that loveth me not keepeth not my sayings."†

23. *How many commandments of Christ are there sufficient to make our righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees?*

Six. The first, not to be angry with one's brother; the second, not to look on a woman to lust after her; the third, not to put away one's wife saving for the cause of fornication; the fourth, not to swear at all; the fifth, not to requite evil with evil; the sixth, to love one's enemies, and to do good to them that hate us.

28. *Which is the greatest commandment of Christ?*

To believe in Him.

29. *Prove that.*

Christ says: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you;"‡ that is, "He that believeth not in me (the Son) shall not see life, for he that believeth in me (on the Son) hath everlasting life."§

30. *What has Christ promised to those who love Him and keep His word?*

Salvation.

31. *In how many Beatitudes is salvation set forth?*

In eight Beatitudes. The first,‖ "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for their's is the kingdom of heaven."

The second, "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth."

The third, "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted."

The fourth, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled."

The fifth, "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy."

The sixth, "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."

The seventh, "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

The eighth, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for their's is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."

32. *What is eternal life?*

It is to know and enjoy the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent.

33. *How many degrees has eternal life?*

Two. The first is revealed here, by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the communion with Him, to which believers attain by the Spirit, through faith. The other is revealed in everlasting glory. Of the first, the Lord Jesus Christ says: "This is life eternal, that

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* John xiv. 15. † John xiv. 24. ‡ John vi. 53. § John iii. 36.

‖ Matt. v. 3–12. The second and third Beatitudes are transposed in the Catechism.

might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent."*

34. *How shall a man obtain this truth?*

Through faith, through love and hope, given by the Holy Ghost.

35. *Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?*

I do.

36. *What is the Holy Ghost?*

God the Lord, sent by the Father and the Son.

37. *What is God the Father?*

God the Lord having a Son coequal in the Godhead.

38. *What is the Son?*

God the Lord having an eternal Father.

39. *Then thou hast three Gods?*

I have not three Gods.

40. *But thou hast named three.*

I have named three according to their persons; but in so far as the Godhead is concerned, I believe that there is but one God, who is worthy of praise and the highest honors.

41, *How dost thou honor God?*

With the heart, with the mouth, and with works.

42. *How dost thou honor Him with the heart?*

With faith, with love and hope, and with good affections.

43. *How dost thou honor Him with the mouth?*

By confessing and calling upon His name, (which name includes) omnipotence, wisdom and goodness: by professing His truth; by desiring help and grace from Him; by praising Him, and praying to Him alone.

44. *How dost thou honor Him with works?*

By keeping His commandments, by fasting, by keeping holy days, by falling upon my knees in prayer, by giving alms, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who sits at the right hand of God, and by other acts of reverence due to Him.

45. *How dost thou call this same one only God, whom thou thus honorest?*

My gracious Father.

46. *How dost thou pray to Him?*

As the Lord teaches, when He says:† "After this manner therefore pray ye:

"Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen."

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* John xviii. 3. † Matt. vi. 9-13.

47. *Dost thou honor any other being, as thou honorest God the Lord?*

I do not.

48. *Why not?*

Because God has forbidden it, when He said: "Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them."* "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve Him alone."†

49. *In what do men generally err in the world?*

In three things: in idolatry, in false "will-worship"‡ and vain hope, in deadly lusts. These three things comprise all their ways of error.

50. *What is idolatry?*

It is to transfer, internally or externally, that honor and worship, which alone belong to God the Lord, to a visible or invisible creature, rational or irrational, spiritual or carnal: internally, with things self-depending and fundamental, that is, with faith, love, hope, and spiritual affections, such as fear, zeal, and with the conscience, &c.: externally, with the mouth, or with works, in the hope of gaining some spiritual or carnal good.

51. *Dost thou believe in the Virgin Mary, or any other saints?*

I do not.

52. *Why not?*

Because they are neither God, nor Creator, nor Redeemer, nor Saviour, but creatures bought and blessed. But I have a belief concerning them.

53. *What dost thou believe concerning the Virgin Mary?*

That she was highly favored, blessed of God among women—full of grace and blessed was the fruit of her womb; that she was pure before she bare, when she bore, and after bearing, a humble handmaid of the Lord, and a blessed one, on account of her humble faith well-pleasing to God, a careful and faithful mother of the Lord Jesus; that she assuredly possesses an inheritance in eternal happiness; and that she enjoyed all these things, by the grace of God, and through an interest in the sufferings of Jesus Christ, in and through whom God did great things for her, and received her soul into its eternal rest.

54. *What dost thou hold concerning the other saints?*

That they are chosen, by the grace of God, to be partakers of salvation through the Lord Jesus Christ, and that, by the sending of the Holy Ghost, they came to be saints beloved in Christ, cleansed by His blood; that living here by faith, and loving God above all things, and their neighbors, honoring God and serving Him, some died a common death, some left the earth oppressed by men, enduring martyrdom for the Word's sake, yea suffering death at the hands of idolators, the prophets, and lovers of the world, because of the true honor they gave God, and the living hope they had in Christ.

55. *Is it proper to honor the Virgin Mary, or the other saints?*

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* Ex. xx. 5. † Deut. vi. 13. ‡ Col. ii. 23.

It is proper to honor them with that honor which is their due.

56. *What is the honor which is their due?*

That we love them with a proper love, and that, by obeying and following them in the good which they accomplished, we praise God for them.

57. *In how far are we to obey them?*

In so far as their admonitions are concerned, in so far as is written in the law, and in so far, especially, as the Virgin Mary says: "Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it."*

58. *In how far are we to follow them?*

In their virtuous lives, by which they followed Christ, with a living faith and real love, striving for the hope of eternal life, and, while striving, faithful unto death, forsaking the world and its errors, together with all vanity.

59. *With what honors is it not proper to honor them?*

With those mentioned above, which belong alone to God and the Lamb. Hence it is not proper to worship them, to desire of them grace, help and intercessions, to seek other good gifts of them, or to pray to them to be preserved from evil: in none of these things must we trust in them. Nor is it proper to call the Virgin Mary our only hope, or a mediatrix, or a most gracious mother, or to pray to her with sighs. Consequently, it is not proper to show them outward honors, such as celebrating saints' days, bringing offerings, supplicating or giving alms in their name, fasting, swearing, or vowing by them, going on pilgrimages to their shrines, or building churches to their memory.

60. *But is it proper to bow down before and worship the image of the Lord Christ, or of the saints?*

It is not proper, since God the Lord says: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor any likeness of anything; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them."† "I am the Lord."‡

61. *How, then, are we to honor the Lord Jesus Christ in the sacrament of His body and blood?*

I say that we are to adore Him as He is, in His self-depending and natural being, naturally and personally in heaven at the right hand of the glory of His Father, according to the confession of our common Christian faith, and the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, whence He will not descend to this world until the last judgment. Therefore it is not proper to adore Him (in the sacrament) in any other way, which He has, moreover, expressly and frequently forbidden, saying: "If any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert; go not forth: behold he is in the secret chambers—or in the caves of the rocks—believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth

* John ii. 5. † Ex. xx. 4 and 5. ‡ Lev. xviii. 5.

even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man [illegible]" who now is in glory. Ad. Philippen.

62. *What is it proper to do when receiving the body and blood of Christ?*

First of all, it is proper to believe, that, whenever the sacrament is in accordance with the meaning and Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Church, is consecrated, in a regular way, by faithful priests with the prayer and the words of the Lord, there is testified and proclaimed, that the consecrated bread is the body of our Lord, which should be betrayed and given for us, and the consecrated cup is the blood of the Lord, which should be shed for us and for many; and this takes place through the words which point to the bread and wine, namely, "This is my body, &c." Hence we must, at once, without any doubting, in simplicity, believe the words of Christ, that the bread is the body of Christ, who should be betrayed, and the wine the blood of Christ, which should be shed for the redemption of sins: for [illegible] that this takes place with a necessary, sacramental and testamentary substance, for the service and use of the spiritual being, which is proclaimed to be His body, and which cup, proclaimed to be His blood Christ commands us to take, to eat, and to drink, and thus to have in a worthy remembrance His betrayal, His sufferings, and the shedding of His blood, yea and to show His death.

(In the second place, this sacrament) thereby becomes a preparation of the spiritual meat and drink, conditioned by a common participation in the same; so that, by this remembrance (of Him), our fellowship with the Lord Jesus Christ is renewed, in a peaceful conscience and hope; and, together with all believers, we are strengthened and made steadfast for the tribulations of the Christian way, awakened and invited to render praise to the Lord Jesus Christ, who is at the right hand of the Majesty, to whom belong divine honors in the unity of the Holy Trinity.

But, (in the third place, we must not forget), that the proper host, above all things used in ministrations, belongs to the Lord Jesus as He abides) in His believing members, who are a spiritual body and holy temple, in which, with His grace and truth, He spiritually is higher (than this sacrament itself,) and more truly revealed than the host reveals Him); (whence follows that we should honor Him by obedience, love, and works of mercy, spiritual or bodily, even as He says: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethern, ye have done it unto me.†" For, through the Word which He sends, we are to receive Him in obedience, abide in Him by it, and enjoy him in the sacrament, in the fellowship of the New Covenant.‡

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* Matt. xxiv. 23–27. † Matt. xxv. 40.

‡ Question 61 is omitted in the Dresden copy of the Catechism, as pointed by Zeschwitz, who gives it in a note. It is found, however, in all the other and forms a part of the body of the Catechism in Ehwalt. This answer is one with which Luther was particularly dissatisfied.

The Bohemian Brethren have been most unjustly accused of often [illegible] their doctrinal views with regard to the Lord's Supper, and of sometimes

63. *How do men err in a false service of God?*

In that they do not know His true service.

64. *What is the service of God?*

A spiritual "brotherhood,"* or a spiritual "virginity,"† or a spiritual "priesthood."‡

65. *What is the true service of God?*

To serve him in the right and fundamental truth of faith, love and hope, in the fellowship of the New Covenant, with works, by following the Lord Jesus Christ.

66. *What are a false brotherhood, virginity and priesthood?*

Those which are founded upon the sacraments only, and upon old usage, and upon the inventions and decretals of men, which are, therefore, a choice of man's own will, and not grounded upon fundamental truth, especially when that will errs or is deceived.

67. *How do men err in a vain hope?*

In that they do not know the true hope, where, and in whom, it is, and in what way it is properly given, (even) the hope of grace and help, yea the hope of eternal glory.

68. *Where and in whom is true hope?*

In God essentially, in Christ meritoriously, and in the Holy Ghost and His gifts which render us worthy of a participation (in grace); in faith fundamentally; in justification by faith truly; in works confirmingly; in the Church and its ministrations administratively; in the Word of God instructively; in the sacraments sacramentally, as a testimony and a testament.

69. *In what does true hope consist?*

In the promise or "oath," and in the testament of God.§

70. *By what is that hope given which is a surety of the present grace of God the Father, and of a communion with the Lord Jesus Christ, in His righteousness, which he has wrought out unto eternal glory?*

By the promise and fellowship, in faith, of the New Covenant, in a real preservation and keeping unto the end.

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almost, or quite Romish, again Lutheran, and again Reformed, in their exposition of this dogma.

The truth is that they obtained their doctrine of the Lord's Supper from the Taborites, who emphatically denied transubstantiation and believed merely in the spiritual presence of Christ. *This spiritual presence the Brethren taught from the beginning to the end of their Unity*, which could readily be proven if the space allowed to which we are restricted. In defining the doctrine, however, they were not always clear, and, in so far as their terminology is concerned, may have given cause for the above accusation. But it should never be forgotten, that in this case, as in other doctrinal questions, the great aims which they had in view were, first, to avoid the controversies going on among the Reformers, second, to fraternize with all evangelical Christians, and, third, to be more faithful in holy living than in nice theological definitions. Many writers misunderstand these aims, and hence misjudge the Brethren. Most important testimony concerning their views of the Lord's Supper is given by Ginley in his *Dogmatische Ansichten der Böhmisch-Mährischen Brüder*, p. 380—390.

* 1 Peter ii. 17. † Ezekiel xxiii. 8. ‡ 1 Peter ii. 5. § Heb. iii. 17.

71. *Upon what other things do men, who have not this promise, ground their hope?*

Some, indiscreetly, on the grace of God, without a reformation of their evil lives; some on dead faith, without true love, wanting which nothing else avails; some on future repentance and the reception of the sacrament in the last hour; some on the outward services of the Church and frequent participation in the sacrament; some on fasting, praying, and the giving of alms, without true faith and real repentance; some on Christian morals, or the confession of faith with the mouth, and obedience to the Pope and the Romish Church, without obeying the Word of God; some on often hearing or reading the Word, as men with the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding of the prudent; some on the aid of the saints and their intercessions, on pilgrimages, on counting their rosaries with prayers to the Virgin Mary, or on other self-made prayers; some on purification, on the falsely reputed third hell and purgatory; some on endowing churches and their ministers with manifold ornaments and gifts, or on the mass and what belongs to it; some on the monks, and their pernicious, false and hypocritical worship, by giving to them goods and possessions; some on works of mercy, without fulfilling the commandments of God; some on divers commandments, without such reformation of the heart as will lead them to know God, in reality, and Jesus Christ in His grace and truth, and without a recognition of Christ, and an apprehension of the righteousness which flows from faith through the renewing of the Holy Ghost; some on good works, without first obtaining grace in the communion of the faith. Thus there are innumerable false hopes, and there is a false service of God which builds up false hopes: be it by trusting in, or receiving the words of, false prophets, or by imitating their works; be it by improper love to them, out of the passion of men's hearts, even to the opposing of the righteousness of God and His followers, according as Christ says, "The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think he doeth God service,"*—or out of such fervency and heat that men enter their orders and take upon themselves their vows. False hopes, furthermore, show themselves in that men honor the dead and their remains, or the living, giving reverence and worship to their works, and putting their trust in these, as, for instance, in papal letters and bulls, believing that what is falsely promised therein will come to pass.

72. *How do men err through mortal affections?*

In that they do not attain to the true affections of faith and love, through the gift of God, and do not receive them through the Word of God; or, in that, while professing faith and serving the Church, they do what St. John describes, when he says: "All that is in the world is the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life."†

73. *In what do such affections show themselves?*

In the seven mortal sins, which are: Pride, covetousness, lasciviousness, envy, gluttony, anger, slothfulness.

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* John xvi. 2. † 1 John ii. 16.

74. *How shall a man escape from these errors?*

First, by fleeing from such as occasion these errors, and such are the evil servants of an evil mind and thoughts, some of them being, also, evil in their lives, against whom Christ warns us, when He says: 'Beware of false prophets."* Second, by following faithful stewards, who, in the proper meaning, and with the right comprehension of their doctrines, as also in their lives, serve the Truth, and seek their position (as stewards) in that service alone, of whom St. Paul says: "Mark them which walk so as ye have us for an example."† Third, by fleeing the cause of idolatry, that is, mortal affections and the fellowship of those who follow such things, as God says by the prophet and St. John in the Revelation: "Come out of her, my people, that ye receive not her plagues."‡ Fourth, by entering into communion with those who faithfully and truly promote the honor of God, concerning whom David says: "With the pure Thou wilt show thyself pure."‖

75. *How shall a man enter this unity of believers?*

By submission, obedience and subjection (to the rule of faith); by circumspectly receiving doctrine, reproof, warning, and correction; and by diligently keeping the commandments of God, and observing "good manners,"§ which are profitable for the Truth.

76. *What is necessary to this end?*

That which the Scripture saith: "My son, if thou come to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation. Set thy heart aright, and constantly endure. Whatsoever is brought upon thee, take cheerfully. And be patient:"¶ that thy life may grow, in the last days, unto eternal life, in the resurrection of the just. But temptations come through the devil, through the world which inspires the mind with sinful things, through (other) evil causes to the offence of the body, and through destroying lusts. Nevertheless he that overcometh and endureth shall be saved.

Amen.
Praise be to God.

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* Matt. vii. 15. † Philip. iii. 17. ‡ Rev. xviii. 4. ‖ Psm. xviii. 26
§ 1 Cor. xv. 33. ¶ Ecclesiasticus, or Jesus Sirach, ii. 1—4.

THE SECOND "SEA CONGREGATION," 1743.

BY JOHN C. BRICKENSTEIN.

The success of the first "Sea Congregation" in 1742, had proved that it was practicable not only to import from Europe colonists, without exposing them to the hardships of common emigrant transports, at that time much more severe than at the present day, but also to impart to the passage across the ocean something of the character of a succession of religious holidays, spent partly in devotional exercises according to their own fashion, partly in fraternal intercourse with old and new friends.

The speedy acquisition of additional laborers and colonists, being a matter of importance, Zinzendorf, while still in America, lost no time in planning with his friends a second expedition for the next following year, 1743. The first step in the execution of the project was to engage the services of Captain Nicholas Garrison, of Staten Island, a man equally distinguished by seamanship and piety.

Capt. Garrison had followed the sea for about twenty years, chiefly in the West India trade. His first acquaintance with the Brethren dates from October, 1736, when Spangenberg, on returning from his visitation in St. Thomas, took passage on board his vessel in St. Eustace. An intimate brotherly friendship was soon formed between the two pious men, and kept up partly by correspondence, and partly by repeated personal meetings. There is still extant a letter of Capt. Garrison's in the biography of Zinzendorf by Spangenberg. The Captain had also made the acquaintance of Count Zinzendorf in 1739, when he met him in St. Thomas. Their short personal intercourse seems to have left a favorable and lasting impression on both of them, for no sooner had Zinzendorf arrived at New York, in November, 1741, than he paid a visit to his friend on Staten Island; and now again, on his way back to New York, he called upon him at his residence,

January 2d (o. s. 13th), 1743. The object of this visit, as above mentioned, was to engage Capt. Garrison* to be both Captain, and chief Elder of the second Sea Congregation, which was to be fitted out in the course of this year. The Captain, though he had intended to quit the sea altogether, accepted the call joyfully, as he himself relates in his letter to Spangenberg. Within seven days he was ready for the voyage to Europe. His daughter Susan, fifteen years of age, accompanied him. They formed part of the suite of Zinzendorf,* and sailed with him from New York, January 9th, 1743, on board the ship "Jacob." On the 17th of February, they arrived in England.

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* Garrison, probably after having taken back to England the ship of the second Sea Congregation, the "Little Strength," returned to America, October 25th, 1744, in company with Spangenberg, on board the ship "Jacob," Capt. Ketteltas, probably the same in which he had sailed with Zinzendorf. In 1748 he arrived again at New York on board a ship of Capt. Schimmer as leader of a company of twenty single brethren, five of whom were sailors, and destined to form part of the crew of the ship "Irene." This vessel was then being built at New York, on account of, and for the exclusive use of the Church. As soon as she was finished—which was in the same year, Capt. Garrison took command of her, and sailed to Europe, whence he returned the following year (1749, May 12) with a large company of brethren and sisters (130) under the guidance of John Nitschman. Among his passengers were the remnant of a delegation of Greenlanders (three out of five) with the Missionary Matthew Stach, and Christian David. With these, he proceeded to Greenland, where he had been two years before, carrying materials for a dwelling-house, bringing at the same time a supply of timber for a new church. After having continued for some years in command of the "Irene," we find him in 1756 in Surinam, selecting two tracts of land for the Brethren on the Corentyn and Saramacca. During this time his younger sons John, Benjamin, and Lambert were educated at Bethlehem. After having spent several years at Nisky, in Germany, he retired to Bethlehem and died there 1781. He left an autobiography. One of the streets of Bethlehem is named after him.

* Copy of a paper in the Bethlehem Archives. The company consisted of: members of the Church,

1. Brother Louis (Zinzendorf.)
2. His daughter Benigna.
3. Anna Nitschman.
4. Rosina Nitschman. (Wife of Bishop David N.)
5. Magdalen femde (?) (Afterwards wife of John Paul Weiss.)
6. Marg. Antess. (Afterwards wife of Latrobe.)
7. Susanna Garrison, (filia.)
8. Joseph Müller.
9. Jacob Müller, (painter.)
10. George Neisser.
11. George Vieruhr.

On this journey to England, Captain Garrison—as he himself writes in his letter to Spangenberg—had an opportunity to witness the cheerful calmness and confidence in God, which he had noticed in Spangenberg, in 1736, during a fearful gale of wind off New York Bay, now displayed by Zinzendorf, when a tremendous gale from the south threatened to wreck the ship on the rocks of the Scilly Islands, near the coast of England. He mentions also that remarkable prediction of Zinzendorf's, who, much against all appearances, declared that the ship would certainly be saved, and that the gale would subside at the end of two hours,—a prediction, which was fulfilled to the letter and minute. Garrison having become a member of the Church, and having returned to London from a visit to Marienborn, preparations were commenced to procure means of transportation for the second Sea Congregation. A suitable ship, called "The Little Strength," was procured, and the services of Capt. Gladman, the pious commander of the first expedition, were engaged, who from motives of patriotism for the Church, consented to serve under Capt. Garrison. In engaging a crew, care was taken to select, if possible, such persons who should be, at the same time, members of the floating church. They succeeded in engaging eleven sailors, (besides Nicolas Garrison, Jr., seventeen years of age, who had arrived in England from the West Indies, and two boys), who were all, with the exception of two, in connection with the Church.

Whilst these preparations were going on in England, the Brethren in Germany were active in calling, instructing, and fitting out colonists. The same principles which had been adopted a few years before in selecting a second colony for Pilgerruh in Holstein,

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12. Dav. Wahnert.
13. Mar. Elis. Wahnert, (his wife.)
14. Gottlieb Haberecht.
15. Andreas Frey.
16. Veronica Frey.
17. Andreas, the Moor.
18. Maria, his wife.
19. Nic. Garrison, Capt.
20. 21. Not mentioned, one of whom was probably Nic. Garrison, Jr.

Besides these there were some friends not members of the Church:
Isai Leshy, of Ephrata, Lancaster Co.
James Benezet, son of Stephen Benezet, of Philadelphia.
William Hall, of Brunswick.

were acted upon on this occasion. It was laid down as a general rule that colonists should be persons in the best years of life, married, but having as yet no children. Then, as the object of the present expedition was to procure colonists for both Bethlehem and Nazareth, and especially for the latter, and as the former settlement was to be predominantly commercial and manufacturing, the other almost exclusively agricultural, especial regard was to be had to the fitness of colonists for these two different lines of life. All pursuits, however, were to be subordinate to labor in the vineyard of the Lord, as opportunities should offer in the hearts of either Christians or heathen.* Marienborn and Herrnhaag undertook to furnish all the colonists for Nazareth; Herrnhut supplied the greater part of the rest.

Measures were so far advanced at Marienborn and Herrnhaag, that on the 27th of May, thirty young single men were married in the chapel of Marienborn to as many young women. Divided into five classes, and standing in five rows, they were, at one and the same time, united in the bonds of holy wedlock, and consecrated as the future congregation of Nazareth. Subsequently, three more couples were added to their number. The anniversary of this peculiar wedding occasion was for many years celebrated at Nazareth; those of the company, who in the course of time had removed to other places, resorting thither to join in the commemoration of the day. There are still extant among the old papers interesting pieces in rhyme which were composed for these occasions by Spangenberg and others.

On Sunday, June 28th, the Nazareth colonists were dismissed by the communicant members of the congregation in a love-feast, at which Zinzendorf himself presided. The solemnity was made still more impressive by the addition of other religious exercises.*

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* For Zinzendorf's views of Pennsylvania colonization, see the *Büdingische Sammlung*, vol. iii., p. 188.

* Part of these consisted in the consecration of forty-three persons, to be members of the society of "witnesses," (*Zeugenschaft.*) Among these were Christian Renatus, Zinzendorf's son, Lewis de Schrautenbach, and of the American colonists the following nineteen: David Wahnert and wife, (who had been with the First Sea Congregation, and had returned to be one of the Elders of the Second), Hœpfner and wife, Hirte and wife, Schaaf and wife, Hessler and wife, Kremser and wife, Mat. Weiss and wife, Jno. Heinrich Bicfel, Elizabeth Wagner, and the single Brethren Oerter, Harding and Dœling.

See Appendix to Geo. Neisser's journal.

The sixty-six Nazareth colonists, joined as far as Bethlehem, by three married couples, and three single Brethren, (total 75,) and divided into several companies, left Herrnhaag in the course of the next following days. Brother Samuel Krause gave them his company, and acted as leader-in-chief as far as Heerendyk, in which Dutch Moravian settlement they were to await the arrival of the colonists from Herrnhut.

The Herrnhut division was somewhat late in starting, besides having a much longer journey to perform. They left Herrnhut a month or so after the Marienborn division had set out on their journey; travelling on foot, accompanied by a wagon, until they could get conveyance by water. On the evening of September 1st, they arrived at Herrnhaag, reported next morning to the authorities at Marienborn, (the residence of the Moravian Bishops at that time) and were at once dispatched to proceed on their journey the very same day; contrary to the expectation of some of them, who had hoped to see a little more of Herrnhaag, Marienborn, &c. A day's march put an end to their slow mode of travelling on land. Arrived at Hanau they found themselves near the banks of the Maine. Either there, or at Frankfort, they stepped on board a boat to float down the rivers Maine and Rhine to Holland, and never to move much on land again until they had reached New York. In the business of engaging their passage to Holland, and embarking on board a boat, they had the assistance of Brother Eckberg, of the Ronneburg, who had escorted them for this purpose as far as Frankfort. There was another company temporarily connected with them, consisting of the Rev. Benjamin Ingham, his wife, and Brother Hasse, of London, and Brother George Neisser, from Silesia. These had travelled at the same time, but by themselves, from Herrnhut to Marienborn.* Here they tarried a day or two longer than the larger company, but travelling faster, though by water all the way from Hanau, passed them whilst on their passage on the Rhine. At Cologne, however, they stopped, and joined the

* On the 3d of September, after evening prayers, Benjamin Ingham gave a love-feast to all the members of the Theological Seminary at Marienborn It was a blessed time to all present, spent principally in "giving verses" to Brother Ingham on the subject of his present journey, and of his field of action in England. The meeting lasted till midnight. At two o'clock in the morning, (September 4th,) Brother Ingham and his company proceeded on their journey.

larger company on board another boat, which was engaged at this place. The smaller company had left Marienborn, September 4th, and reached Cologne on the 6th. The passage of the larger company, owing to more frequent and longer detentions, lasted two and one-half days longer. On September 8th, both parties proceeded on their voyage together. As to the members of this smaller party, the Brethren Ingham and Hasse are well and very favorably known in the history of our English church, and George Neisser,* was secretary to Count Zinzendorf, residing at that time in Silesia, at Burau (or Gnadeck), an estate of Count Balthazar Promnitz, and was to accompany the Sea Congregation as far as a two months' leave of absence would permit. He it is, who has given an account of the expedition for the time he was present with it.

In floating down the Rhine the Brethren would take turns at the oars, four at a time, for half an hour, the whole company joining in singing hymns. By these means the speed of their barge was considerably increased.† After entering the Meuse, they should, according to appointment, have turned off to join the Marienborn division at Heerendyk; but it was judged best to send off a few only of their number with the news of their approach to Rotterdam, and proceed in a body to the place of embarking.

At Rotterdam, (September 12th,) they found Capt. Garrison‡ anxiously waiting for his passengers, and everything ready to receive them at once on board "The Little Strength." About the

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* George Neisser was a young man of education, (probably received in the Seminary of the Church,) and had been in America with Zinzendorf in 1742. His name does not occur in any of the catalogues of arrivals seen by us, but among the departures. In the *Büding-Sammlungen*, vol. ii., p. 888, is an extract from a very sharp reply to the calumnies of Rev. John Philip Bœhm, Reformed Pastor at Philadelphia, published by Geo. Neisser, of Sehlen, in Moravia, "Schoolmaster at Bethlehem."

† They now generally continued their journey during the night; whilst, in its [illegible]er stages, on the winding river Maine, &c., they used to spend the night on [illegible]e.

‡ In his biography Capt. Garrison says that it had long been a wish of his heart to sail in a vessel, the property of the Church, and manned and occupied exclusively by members of the Church; a wish the realization of which he scarcely dared to hope for. Now, however, on board the "Little Strength," it was actually realized. "Yet," continues he, "this very journey has cost me many tears afterwards, because I had to reproach myself for not having shown that fidelity to my trust, that I ought to have shown."

same hour of the day a number of Marienborn Brethren made their appearance. They had left Heerendyk, immediately upon receiving word of the approach of the Herrnhut Brethren, and reached Rotterdam just in time to join them in going on board ship, without entering a house in town. The following day was spent in stowing away baggage, and getting things in readiness for the reception of the other passengers. Sister Spangenberg was on board, and very active in lending prompt and efficient assistance, especially to the sisters, in having everything put to the right place. All arrangements being completed, great was the satisfaction in welcoming on board the same evening, September 3d, all the rest of the passengers, who had been waiting at Heerendyk, and conducting them to the quarters prepared for them.

Brother Knolton, in company with Capt. Gladman's wife, now hastened to take the regular Helvoetsluis and Harwich packet-boat, to return to England, and dispatch the English division to Cowes.

Whilst the ship was delayed yet a short time at Rotterdam, a number of friends and brethren from Amsterdam* and Heerendyk came on board to get a sight of this remarkable expedition, express the interest they felt in it, and take leave of the passengers. Brother Hasse had taken up his quarters on board altogether for a few days, and Brother Ingham, who with his wife occupied lodgings in town, paid daily visits to the ship. He also made arrangements that a general farewell lovefeast was spread on the deck, which had by means of canvas awnings been converted into a little chapel, the Sisters taking their seats on the right hand side, and the Brethren on the left.†

On the 16th of September, anchor was weighed, and the ship

* A Brother Decknadel, of Amsterdam, is mentioned, who with his wife and two sons visited the ship. They were delighted with everything they saw and heard, and evidenced their affection and kindness in various ways. When they discovered an article wanting here or there, which might be useful during the journey, they at once went to town to procure it.

† This lovefeast took place on a Saturday afternoon, and was considered the first Sabbath lovefeast of the Sea Congregation. These Sabbath lovefeasts were afterwards regularly continued every Saturday afternoon. They had been introduced long before by Zinzendorf in his house with the family of Brethren and Sisters, who happened to reside with him (*Pilgergemeine, Jüngerhaus.*) The materials were of the plainest kind, but on these occasions he made his domestics take seats, and requested other Brethren and Sisters to serve the tea and cakes.

dropped down the river. The passage from Rotterdam to Helvoetsluis was slow and tedious, consuming not less than six days, on account of adverse winds, or calms. This had, however, the advantage that the passengers could accustom themselves to their new quarters, before the time of seasickness was upon them, and that they could hold their religious services on deck undisturbed and at leisure. Particular mention is made of a fine calm evening, when the singing was protracted beyond the usual time. The inhabitants of a Dutch village near which the ship was riding at anchor, hearing it, collected on the bank, and stood listening with great devotion to the last sound. Next morning they expressed themselves very kindly towards a party who visited the shore, declaring that never in their lives had they heard such beautiful strains of music. This formed a pleasing contrast to the conduct of the crew on a schuyte that passed by, who took pleasure in annoying the Brethren by noise and shouts, as also to the experience of the Herrnhut division not long before in the town of Gotha, who had stopped at a hotel, called the "Moor" (the same in which three years before a General Synod of the Church had met), and, when seated at table, were asking the Lord's blessing on their meal by singing some verses, as was their custom, were hushed into silence by a mob that had collected in front of the house, and commenced to hurl stones through the windows.

At last, on the 23d of September, towards noon, the town of Helvoetsluis hove in sight. Here they expected to find Brother Spangenberg, and receive him on board as temporary companion, in the same manner as they already had amongst them Sister Spangenberg, and Brother George Neisser. Brother Spangenberg had been actively engaged at London in assisting with the preparations for the expedition, and had carried on an extensive correspondence in reference to it; but there were still some important subjects, on which he wished to have oral communication with Zinzendorf. In consequence he had crossed over to Holland, the second time in the course of this year, and from Holland travelled all the way to Silesia on foot and alone. When his conferences with Zinzendorf had come to a close, he returned from Gnadeck to Holland, and had now been four days at Helvoetsluis, waiting for the arrival of the "Little Strength." He was standing on shore when the ship approached, recognised it immediately, and hailed it.

Capt. Garrison at once manned a boat, took the tiller himself, and brought Brother Spangenberg on board.

It was 4 o'clock P. M., when the ship fairly entered the North Sea, and the wind being favorable, the coast of England was sighted next morning, (Sept. 24th) at eight o'clock. The night had, of course, been an unpleasant one to most of the passengers. The Sisters seemed to be most severely affected by seasickness. They had, however, a precious comforter in Sister Wahnert, who like Martha, was bustling about among them, bringing assistance and relief where required, and like Mary would then sit down with them, and sing soothing and comforting hymns. In the course of the day, as they sailed along the coast of England, and the sea became smoother, most of the sick recovered somewhat, and on the following day, (Sept. 25th), when Cowes was reached (at 4 o'clock P. M.) all the sick had recovered.

Here the Congregation was agreeably surprised to find the English Brethren and Sisters, who were to join the expedition, waiting their arrival and ready to come on board. They had arrived at Cowes the day before, accompanied by the following friends from London, the Brethren Wenzel Neisser, Knolton, Holland, Reinke, Broske and Sister Highland. All the Brethren and Sisters, the passengers as well as temporary companions, were at once received on board, and hasty arrangements made for the night. The London friends, however, did not retire after evening service, but having discovered that some fresh provisions (milk, &c.) which could not be procured in town, would be quite acceptable on board, had the kindness to roam about the Isle of Wight to a late hour in search of them.

The following day, September 26th, was spent in shipping the baggage of the English Brethren, clearing the ship at the custom-house, taking on board some more fresh provisions and ballast, and making final arrangements for the long voyage. In the evening the London friends took leave, expressing their kindest interest and affection in English and German addresses. Brother and Sister Spangenberg and George Neisser continued on board a few days longer. The former had been engaged, ever since he had joined the company, in confidential conversation with each individual, hearing them out upon every subject, and exercising a beneficial influence on them in private and in public by words of

exhortation, instruction, advice and encouragement, delivered in his usual affectionate and brotherly manner. In one of his last addresses he took occasion to remind those Brethren who expected to engage principally in secular affairs, that they also had a very important, though indirect spiritual office in the Missionary cause, even whilst staying at home. "For," said he, "one of the greatest obstacles the Missionaries have to contend with is the worse than heathenish conduct of so many white men, who are called Christians. When the Indians shall perceive that the Missionaries have at home whole settlements of Brethren, whose walk and conversation is the same as theirs, they will have more confidence in the words of the Missionaries, and the latter will feel themselves supported by a powerful influence." Before leaving the ship Spangenberg called a meeting of the whole company, and declared that he had instructions to take back with him any person who, on account of sickness, or for any other reason, might have changed his or her mind, and would prefer returning home. But not a single individual wished to avail himself of this offer. Sister Opitz, who had been sick all the time, declared when Sister Wahnert communicated to her Brother Spangenberg's offer, that she was convinced this journey belonged to the career decreed to her by the Lord, even if it should lead to a grave in the ocean. At the same time Spangenberg called for suggestions from any of the company, how the convenience or comfort of the passengers might be promoted by alterations in the arrangements or management on board. This proposition led to some improvements that were at once introduced.

The ship had left Cowes, September 27th, but owing to adverse winds and calms, five days passed before she approached the mouth of the British channel. October 1st, the wind became favorable, and on the next day in the morning a fishing smack was hailed, and came alongside. Brother and Sister Spangenberg and Brother Neis[illegible] now took a most affectionate farewell in morning prayers, and [illegible]rwards personally with tears, and with many kisses, and stepped into the boat which was bound for Plymouth. The "Little Strength," under a press of canvas, the favorable wind increasing, sped her way towards the ocean, and lost sight of land before night. This was October 2d, when the voyage proper of the Sea Congregation commenced; it lasted till November 26th, when they cast anchor in New York Bay near Staten Island.

The Sea Congregation consisted of:

Passengers,	117
Seafaring men in connexion with the Congregation,	13
Total,	130
Two seafaring men and a boy not in connection with it,	3
Total of souls on board the "Little Strength,"	133

The quarters of the Sisters were on the middle deck and those of the Brethren on the lower deck. For the Sisters state-rooms had been prepared, and the wide space between the two ranges of state-rooms, was furnished with benches and seats, affording them the comforts of a house, as nearly as was possible on board ship. The Brethren on the lower deck swung their hammocks along the sides of the ship. The distribution of the passengers was so arranged, that each of the three divisions, the Marienborn, Herrnhut and English divisions, had quarters together, the last named division being nearest to the cabin, which was considered the most comfortable location. Each division being subdivided into classes, or bands, of five or six individuals, headed by leaders, these again were placed near to one another and formed a mess-company for meals. Capt. Garrison invited himself to the different messes of the Brethren at his option, or had "tabulam ambulatoriam," as the journal of Brother Neisser calls it. One member of each class or mess, both male and female, acted as its servitor, having the care not only of the table, but of order and cleanliness in general within its premises. The appointment of head cook was bestowed on Brother Matthew Reuz, a man of excellent education, who, a few years afterwards (1746) became pastor of the Church at Philadelphia. He was the fittest man for that office, so the journal says, because of all persons he was less likely to loose the equilibrium of his mind through the many distractions attending that business. He had three assistants, the Brethren Opiz, Christ and Grabs. The care of the ship's stores, and of serving them out, was entrusted to the Brethren Wagner and Fisher.* There was an

* According to Neisser's journal, Brother Cook, a sailor, or second mate, was the third person on this committee, but Brother Hœpefner does not mention him. Brother Cook afterwards joined the Brethren on their journey from New York to Bethlehem.

abundant supply of provisions on board, and likewise a sufficient quantity of delicacies for the sick. The duty of attending to the sick fell to the Brethren Wahnert and Schaaf, on the side of the brethren, and of Sisters Wahnert and Hirte, on the side of the sisters. The night was divided into two watches, from 10 P. M. to 2 A. M., and from 2 A. M. to 6 A. M. At first only one brother was assigned for each watch, fourteen brethren in all being appointed for this duty, two for each night in the week. Brother George Neisser kept the first, and Spangenberg the second watch. But before Spangenberg left the ship it was found expedient to double the number, and have two brethren for each watch. Amongst the duties of the watchmen was the care of the light, which was kept burning all night on both decks, and to go to the assistance of the sailors, when needed. The hours were struck on the ship's bell by a brother appointed for the purpose.

The order of the day, according to the journal, was as follows: "At 6 o'clock A. M., one brother of the retiring night watch rings or strikes a bell for rising; at 7 o'clock another bell calls to morning prayer; at 8 o'clock breakfast. In the course of the forenoon, those German Brethren, who wish to study English, have English school.* Brother Greening is their instructor, Brother Döhling the most proficient scholar. In the same way, some of the English Brethren study German; Brother Döhling being instructor. Those who are not engaged in this or any other matter, have an opportunity given them to take up some useful occupation, since experience teaches that nothing is so hurtful to the mind as complete idleness, on sea even more so than on land. At noon, dinner. In the afternoon some sisters are instructed in English, and there are class-meetings, those of the sisters being held in their state-rooms. After 6 P. M., supper; 7 P. M., evening prayer in German. After this, English evening prayer in the cabin, which holds from thirty to forty persons. This is attended also by the Germans, who study English, and part of the crew. German meetings are kept on the middle and lower decks at the same time. The sisters sit on the benches, each before her state-room; the brethren each near his hammock, whilst the Liturgus takes his stand near, or on, the

* We have no information concerning the text-books they made use of, except that a number of English hymn books were distributed among them.

stairs which connect the two decks, thus becoming audible and in part visible to both. Lovefeasts, both regular Sabbath lovefeasts, and occasional ones on birthdays, &c., are celebrated on deck, if wind and weather permit; if not they are postponed. They are mostly prepared from the ship's stores, and are distinguished from other meals chiefly by the social manner of enjoying them, and the religious feature they bear; singing, short addresses, reading of missionary and other reports, and religious conversation forming part of the entertainment."

Capt. Garrison was chief elder of the floating church, assisted by a conference of seven members, five brethren and two sisters, namely, Brother Wahnert and wife, Brother Wagner and wife, and the Brethren Brandmüller, Hœpfner, and Erhardt, the ship's mate. Their regular business meetings were in the course of the morning, but they also met in the evenings in Capt. Garrison's cabin, some time after the other evening services, for a private evening prayer, to which the Brethren of the evenings nightwatch were admitted. The services in the English language were conducted almost exclusively by Capt. Garrison, who spoke German also occasionally. The Brethren Wahnert, Brandmüller, Hœpfner and Döhling were appointed to take turns in leading the German meetings. In addition to the conference, a sanitary committee was appointed, consisting of Capt. Garrison and the two Doctors, Otto and Greening.

So far George Neisser's diary.

The account of the ship's passage across the Atlantic is from the pen of Brother Höpfner, assisted by others.

According to the custom of the times, the ship made what is called a "southern passage," yet did not go so far south as to touch at the Island of Madeira, as the ship "Catharine," with the First Sea Congregation had done the year before. The first part of the passage was pleasant and rapid. Several times the favorable wind increased into as favorable a gale, and caused among the passengers another, but final attack of seasickness. Brother Spangenberg, whilst yet on board, had composed several verses on the subject of this expedition, commending it to the mercy of the Lord ("Lord Jesus take this child, and rock it through the waves," &c.) in which among other things he makes allusion to the different nationalities of which the company was composed, forming not a Babel, but a

band of Brothers, brought together by the call of the Lord, and animated as one, by His spirit. A pleasing exhibition of this fact took place, when on fine days the company spent most of their time on deck, and individuals of fourteen nationalities might be seen engaged in conversation principally on the one subject uppermost in all minds, namely, natives of England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Wendish Lusatia, Bohemia, Poland, France,* Italy. Nor was their harmony ever disturbed. There was that in the circumstances of their situation, which tended to exalt them above the realities of life into a higher, more spiritual sphere of existence. Floating, as they did amidst the dangers of the sea, most of them for the first time in their lives, their utter dependence on unseen Divine power was brought home to them more strikingly and frequently, than when on shore. Then there was the constant remembrance of their friends at home, and of the blessed times they had enjoyed among them; and the conviction that they were constantly and affectionately remembered by these friends, brought about something like a meeting of kindred spirits, independent of any distance measured by miles.

The monotony of ship life was interrupted by the Azores, or Western Islands, heaving in sight, five days after the coast of England had disappeared; by attacks of indisposition attended by fainting fits, which befell a Sister and a Brother, but proved to be of no serious nature; and, on the 16th of October, by the startling discovery that the fresh water casks were leaking badly. A conference was immediately called to deliberate on this alarming intelligence. On examination it was found that the water had leaked out of not less than twenty-three casks. Thereupon a sufficient force of strong arms were set in motion, to remove the superincumbent weight from the casks, to bring up stouter casks and barrels and fill into them what remained of their supply of water. This was henceforth served to the company under new regulations, and with greater economy. Owing to these precautions, nothing like a distressing want of fresh water was experienced to the end of the

* In this enumeration of the journal Switzerland is omitted; Brother Brandmüller, and Brother Matthew Weiss, and Sister Schrop being from Basel, in Switzerland.

voyage; but the Brethren fell and expressed the deepest gratitude to Him, who watched over them, causing the discovery to be made in time to prevent a more serious calamity.

Towards the end of the month the ship met with a succession of violent storms, which was interrupted by a few days of calm or favorable wind, culminating, on November 1st, in a furious thunderstorm, succeeded by a hurricane of six hours duration. "It was," the journal says, "as if the prince of darkness were spending his last resources to prevent our passage to America." The sailor Brethren, whilst standing on the yards to secure the sails, were all but dipped into the foaming ocean. The ship on this, as on some other occasions, was under bare poles, the rudder fastened with ropes; no person could stand on deck without grasping hold of some strong support. Cooking was out of the question; the hatches were closed and secured; the quarters on the middle and lower decks were shrouded in midnight darkness, and lights were kept burning all day. During the regular and irregular tossing and rocking of the ship, it often seemed as if she was on the point of turning over completely, when those who were standing or sitting on one side of the deck found themselves next moment sprawling at the feet of those on the other side, to be transferred in company with them back to their former position. Yet no one was hurt, no one sick even, no one frightened. "Wind and waves might play with the frail bark, wind and waves could not play with their hearts"—for they knew that wind and waves could not carry them beyond the reach of their Saviour. Whilst the waves were thumping and washing the deck, and during the roaring and hissing of thunder, tempest and ocean, the different class or mess companies were sitting together in semi-darkness, engaged for the most part in singing. A temporary lull in the tempest would enable all to chime in with the singers. Towards nightfall the fury of the elements seemed to have spent itself, the tempest gave way to a gentle and favorable wind that continued all the next day, and permitted the Brethren to return once more to their regular routine of life; whilst the ship, which during the late storms had not suffered the least injury, resumed its prescribed course. The same heavenly protection was extended to the "Little Strength" during the numerous storms, gales and squalls, she had yet to undergo before reaching the journey's end.

November 18th, before daylight, a violent thunder storm overtook the floating church, succeeded not by a gale of wind, as had been apprehended, and prepared for, but by a copious shower of rain, which enabled the Brethren to collect water sufficient to replenish three of the empty casks.

November 20th, soundings were obtained at the depth of forty-five fathoms, but anxious as the Brethren were to reach land, because the supply of water could not last much longer, they had yet to learn some more lessons of patience and resignation. That same day an adverse wind began to blow, and continued the two following days, often amounting in violence to a gale. After some time spent in tacking about, an attempt was made to reach Newport, when the wind changed its direction a little, and blew right in their teeth. It was now attempted to make the Capes of the Delaware, but again the wind veered round and made this impossible.

November 23d and 24th. Alternate calms and feeble winds.

November 25th. By means of soundings, the Captain ascertained that he was approaching shore, but no land was visible through the haze and mist. Before night the lead gave a depth of only eleven fathoms, and just then the east wind began to set in stronger and stronger, threatening to drive the ship upon the shoals of an invisible lee-shore, at no great distance. To gain an offing in the teeth of the wind was impossible. Here then was a problem to be solved in the hours of a dark and stormy night. Not to lose a hair's-breadth of ground in sailing close to the wind, to take constant soundings, and as constant tacking about, without missing a moment's time, all this put the seamanship of the two Captains, and the nautical drill and physical resources of the sailors, to a severer test than any they had yet had to undergo. Eight of the passengers were regular assistants to their sailor brethren, and as many more as might be required were ready, at any moment, to obey the summons of the Captain, but the greatest assistance was afforded by Him, whose invisible hand guided and protected His little floating church. He sent relief about midnight, when the wind not only abated, but changed its direction; sufficiently so for the ship to pass out seaward, and find itself within an hour's time beyond soundings.

Next morning, November 26th, the last day of the voyage, the ship's head was again turned shorewards. It was a cold, foggy

morning. No land was to be seen even when the ship had proceeded to within eight fathoms soundings, when all at once, at 10 A. M., the curtain of mist was lifted, and America was welcomed with heartfelt joy. But no sooner had the Captain ascertained the exact position of the vessel, when the curtain dropped again; and again had the ship to be turned about and steered seaward. This, however, was the last disappointment and trial of patience; it lasted only half an hour, when the mist rose, was dissolved and disappeared altogether. In a few hours the ship entered New York Bay, and before night the anchor was dropped near the shore of Staten Island, in front of Capt. Garrison's house. Capt. Garrison went at once to see his family,* taking with him his son Nicolas, and Sister Wahnert.

The Brethren humbly offered up their thanks to the Lord, for the numberless mercies He had bestowed upon them during their passage; praying Him to continue with them, and in the same manner as their ship had been a floating church, to make a sanctuary of any place of abode where their lot might be cast, be it house or hut.

Next morning, November 27th, Captain Garrison and Sister Wahnert returned on board. They were soon followed by Brother and Sister Almers, of Bethlehem. Great was the joy of seeing once more the face of old friends, but Brother Almers did not tarry long. He took the letters for Bethlehem and hastened back to bring the news of the arrival of the "Little Strength." Brother Gambold, of Philadelphia, also came on board to greet the Brethren. He had been sent to receive them on their arrival, and had been waiting for them eight days. In the course of the morning the ship weighed anchor, proceeded to New York, and arrived there about noon. Before long Brother Noble came on board to bid welcome to the floating church, and in the afternoon the Elders met in his house in town to deliberate on the best plan of transporting the ship's company and baggage to Bethlehem. It was resolved that such of the Brethren and Sisters as were able to make the journey on foot, should travel in two divisions; the rest, and the baggage should be transported to New Brunswick on board

* Of Capt. Garrison's family, we find a few years subsequently, three sons residing at Bethlehem, viz., John, Lambert and Benjamin.

some small craft, and thence by wagon to Bethlehem. The ship, as soon as it should have been cleared at the custom-house, was to return to her anchorage near Staten Island and Capt. Garrison's house. This was expected to take place in the course of the following morning. The first lovefeast in this country was celebrated this evening, consisting, as to materials, of American bread and American apples. Here Brother Hœpfner closes his journal. From the Bethlehem diaries it may be concluded that the Brethren remained a few days longer on board ship; for they did not begin to arrive at Bethlehem before December 5th. On that day the first division* of sixty-four persons, reached Bethlehem. Next day followed the second, of thirty-eight persons. December 7th, the rest arrived, including old Mother Banister, (Brother Payne's mother) and the greater part of the English company.

* John Cook, one of the sailor brethren, joined the first division, in order to see Bethlehem. Another one, Gervis Roebuck, found his way to Bethlehem in 1745, in company with Brother Peter Knolton and wife.

THE CHAPEL

AND ITS

CONTIGUOUS BUILDINGS ON CHURCH STREET, AT BETHLEHEM.

By Edmund de Schweinitz.

There are no old Moravian edifices historically more interesting in all America than the Row which begins on Church street, at Bethlehem, next above the large Moravian Church, and extends to the eastern end of the Sisters' House. We propose, in this article, to give a brief account of the same, based upon documents in the Bethlehem Archives, and upon personal recollections given us by aged inhabitants of the town.

Early in the year 1741, a little company of Moravian immigrants—namely, David and Anna Zeisberger, and their son David (afterwards the distinguished Missionary among the Indians), Mathias Seybold, Martin Mack, George Neisser, John Bœhmer, Christian Frœlich, Hannah Hummel, Benjamin Summers and his son James—under the superintendence of Bishop Nitschman, and of his uncle, Father Nitschman, as Master-Workman,* took possession of the first house of Bethlehem. It was a small log building, back of the Eagle Hotel, and was removed a number of years ago, to make way for a stable. About six months later, on the 28th of September, was laid the corner-stone for the second house. It was completed in 1742, and received the name of *Gemein-Haus*, or "Congregation House." This structure still stands, at the northeast corner of Church Street and Cedar Alley. It originally extended from the Alley to its present eastern door.

On the second floor of this house was the first church of Beth-

* Father Nitschman is generally called the Founder of Bethlehem. But this title is a misnomer. He was merely the Master-Workman in building the first and second houses. Bishop Nitschman, his nephew, was the real Founder. He was sent over from Europe expressly in order to found the town.

lehem, consisting of a chapel—styled *Der Saal*, afterward *Der Kleine Saal*,—whose low ceiling was supported by four wooden pillars, which are yet to be seen in the partition walls of the four rooms into which, at a later day, it was divided. Two of these rooms are now occupied by the Rev. Peter Ricksecker, and two by Mrs. Rose. In January or February of 1742, this Chapel was used for the first time, having been dedicated by Count Zinzendorf, who often preached in it.* The Count had a private apartment on the same floor, at the West end, Mrs. Hillman's present room.

For nine years, from 1742 to 1751, the Brethren worshipped in this place. Here, too, representatives of the heathen nations to which they preached the glorious Gospel of the blessed God were received. In May of 1749, three converted Greenlanders, on a visit to the British Colonies, who had been baptized in their native country by Moravian Missionaries, here had an interview with converted Indians, from Gnadenhütten, on the Mahony, in the present Carbon County, Pennsylvania, who had been also baptized by Moravians. Again, in July of 1752, and March of 1753, two great councils were here held, between the Moravians and deputations of Nanticokes and Shawanese from the Wyoming Valley. This chapel is, however, particularly interesting, on account of the many Indians who were baptized into the death of Jesus, within its hallowed walls. We certainly know of no less than ninety-three who here received this sacrament, and who came from the Mohican, Delaware, Wampanoag, French Mohawk, Hoogland and Sopus Nations.† The first of these baptisms took place on the 16th of September, 1742, when David, a Mohican, the son of Abraham—who was the first Moravian convert from the North American Indians—was baptized by Count Zinzendorf, and Joshua, another Mohican, by Gottlob Büttner. A few days after, these two converts accompanied the Count on his second and very perilous tour through the Indian Country. The next baptism of note was that of the first Delaware converts, Gottlieb, and Mary, his wife, from Wamphallowbank, on the Susquehanna, in the present

* Count Zinzendorf was on a visit to America from November, 1741, to the beginning of 1743.

† The information which we give in this article, respecting Indian Baptisms, is based upon the official Register of Indian Baptisms, preserved in the Bethlehem Archives.

Bradford County. Being of a distinguished family, and of the noble Tribe of the Turtle, their profession of Christianity caused intense excitement among the Delawares, and thirty warriors marched to Bethlehem, in order to carry them back by force to the hunting grounds and religion of their fathers. But the persuasions of the couple, and the kindness of the Moravians, changed these angry savages into friends.

In August, 1742, the Brethren prepared to enlarge the *Gemein-Haus*, and on the 19th of September the corner-stone for the eastern end was laid. This addition embraced the rooms now occupied by Mrs. Lehman, and the new Vestry Room attached to the renovated chapel. It was completed in August, 1743.

That stone edifice which forms the Western end of the main building of the present "Sisters' House," was next put up. It was to be a "Brethren's House." Count Zinzendorf himself selected its site, on the 7th of July, 1742. On the 13th, it was staked off, on the 8th of August the corner-stone was laid; and on the 6th of December, of the same year, the young men, or "Single Brethren," of the settlement for the first time made it their home. They occupied it until November 16, 1748, when they moved into a new house, which is now the old part of the Female Boarding School; their places being taken by the young women, or "Single Sisters," who had been living at Nazareth. Thus this building became the earliest Moravian "Sisters' House" in America.

The fourth part of the Row comprised the middle of the central building with the bell-turret. The lines which mark its original dimensions can be distinctly traced in the masonry. It had a door and two windows on the first, and three windows on the second story, fronting the green. On the 24th of August, 1745, it was staked off, and occupied in October of the following year. The lower floor contained a kitchen for the married couples of the settlement, and the "Single Brethren," together with a dining room for the former, who all took their meals at a common table; the upper floor was devoted to family rooms. On the 9th of June, 1746, the bell-turret was finished. The gilded device surmounting it—a Lamb with a Banner*—was suggested by Bishop Cammerhoff. The base of the turret showed the face of a brass clock,

* This is still the device of the official episcopal seal of the Moravian Church.

manufactured by Augustin Neisser, of Germantown, and in the turret hung three bells, cast by Samuel Powell, one of which struck the hours, and the other two the quarters. In 1748, the central building was enlarged, at its Eastern end, by the addition of that part now occupied, on the first floor, by Mrs. Führer, and on the second, by Mrs. John Rice; and in 1749, at its Western end, by the addition of a third part—the sixth house of the Row—at present inhabited by Mr. Jacob Stolzenbach, on the first story, and Mrs. Hofman, on the second.

Hence, at the close of 1750, the Row consisted, first of the log *Gemein-Haus*, where lived the clergy of Bethlehem; second, of the central stone building with the turret, the residence of families; and, third, of the corner "Sisters' House."

In February, 1751, the town having now a population of over two hundred souls, was discussed the project of filling up the Row both to the East and to the West. It met with favor, and the settlers resolved to erect, on the Eastern side, a wing to the "Sisters' House," and, on the Western, a large place of worship. The latter was undertaken first. At that time the colony at Bethlehem was under the direction of Bishop John Nitschman,* assisted by the youthful Bishop Cammerhoff, who died a few months after.

Timber having been floated down the Lehigh River from Gnadenhütten—where the Moravians had a saw-mill—and the ground having been broken on the 5th of April, the work proceeded with extraordinary dispatch. On the first floor a large room, laid with square tiles, was constructed as a new dining-hall for the married couples; on the second floor was to be the chapel. By the middle of May the building was under roof. The roof was covered with tiles, and large buttresses were masoned up outside in order to render the whole structure more secure; after a time, however, the tiles being deemed too heavy, shingles were substituted (1753).

* Born, 1703, at Schönau, in Moravia. He was consecrated a Bishop in 1741 In 1749 he came to America as Bishop Spanbenberg's successor, and remained until 1751, when he went to England, where he resided six years. In 1760 he was appointed Superintendent of the Moravian Church in Holland. There he continued until his death, May 6, 1772. His first wife, Julianna Nitschmann was one of the eighteen young women at Herrnhut who formed that covenant out of which grew the class or choir of "Single Sisters." She died at Bethlehem, February 22, 1751, and was buried in the exact centre of the Burial, Ground, in the middle path.

On the 9th of July this second church of Bethlehem stood finished. It was, therefore, built in three months and four days.

The dedication took place the day after its completion, Saturday, the 10th of July, 1751, and was conducted by Bishop John Nitschman. A number of Moravians from Nazareth, Maguntsche—now Emmaus—Christian's Spring and Friedensthal, had arrived to be present at the solemnities. In the forenoon, at 11 o'clock, the children had their last Saturday Lovefeast in the old Chapel*—at that time there were Lovefeasts every Saturday for them and for the adult membership—and were catechized in the presence of many guests. Soon after, the dedicatory service was held in the new Chapel. It was altogether of a liturgical character, and opened with the hymn: "Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit—Sei dieses Hauses Herrlichkeit." A lengthy ode followed, composed for the occasion by the Bishop, and sung by the whole congregation. The *Te Agnum*—a liturgical service of that day—was chanted in conclusion, kneeling. In the afternoon, at one o'clock, a general Lovefeast was celebrated, on which occasion the choir performed a Cantana with great and solemnizing power, and Bishop Nitschman delivered an address on the Old Testament Text for that day: "And Sharon shall be a fold of flocks." (Is. lxv. 10.)

The Bishop said amongst the rest:

We who live in the blessed times to which the prophet refers, have a right to apply the promise of our text with special directness to ourselves. It concerns us in particular. For the Lamb of God in whom we believe is worth more to us than all the world. His sufferings and His merits, His whole passion even to His death, are our constant theme. In time and eternity we know nothing dearer and more blessed than the Saviour with His wounds. He is, among us, the beginning, the middle, the end. To the doctrine of the Cross will we hold as long as we live. When we speak to undying souls, we speak of this; when our churches are open, our churches resound with this. Whoever attempts to attack us in this point, attempts our life; but we stand fast like a wall and resist him.

Therefore, in this new sanctuary also, our mouths from out the abundance of our hearts, shall proclaim Christ Jesus and Him Crucified. Is there any one who would give a different keynote

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* This Chapel, thereafter known as *der kleine Saal*, continued, in subsequent years, to be used for occasional services, until one-half of it was partitioned off into two dwelling-rooms. Of the use to which the remaining half was then put, this article treats in a subsequent part.

to our discourses, who would lead us past and away from the Cross, let him be banished! We have built this house, this habitation of the Lord of Hosts, in order that Jesus, our Saviour, may here be among us; in order that He may here, in His dyed garments, bathed in His own blood, which is for us the blood of atonement, go from seat to seat, and pardon, bless, sanctify believing sinners. Every corner of this sanctuary shall be sprinkled with blood, every part of it shall be filled with the mighty rushing wind of the Spirit.*

The great theme among the Moravians of that day, and which remains their prominent doctrine, is beautifully and forcibly unfolded in this extract.

The last service was held in the evening, when (probably) Rev. Christopher Pyrlæus,† of Maguntsche, spoke on two texts combined, namely, "He that shutteth, and no man openeth," (Rev. iii. 7.) and "Knock and it shall be opened unto you," (Matt. vii. 8). The Chapel was provided with an organ, which was used at all these services. At a later time, its walls were adorned with paintings, by Haidt, the Moravian artist, representing incidents in the life of Christ. After it had been abandoned, these paintings were, most unhappily, sold to strangers.

In the year following the dedication, the building opposite to the Chapel, consequently the eighth part of the Row, was completed, as a wing of the "Sisters' House," containing among the rest, a large sleeping-hall. This wing was occupied for the first time on the 10th of May (1752,) and the occasion was festively signalized by a shad-dinner to which one hundred blooming "Single Sisters," and "Great Girls" sat down. Therefore, in 1752, the Row, beginning at its Western end, included, first, the *Gemein-Haus*, the residence of the Ministers and Missionaries, second, the Chapel, third, the Central Building, used as a School for the Children, and fourth, the "Sisters' House" to the end of the original corner building. Thus it remained for twenty-one years, and then, in

* Extracted, in a free translation, from the Bethlehem Diary of July 10, 1751, a MS. in the Bethlehem Archives.

† He was born in Swabia in 1713, studied at the University of Leipzig, joined the Moravians, came to America in 1742, preached for the Lutherans of Philadelphia, as Count Zinzendorf's adjunctus, lived among the Mohawks and learned their language, which he afterward taught to a class of candidates for missionary service, and became a very active minister of the Moravians in this country. He died May 28th, 1785, at Herrnhut. He was an ancestor of Mrs. Henry Luckenbach, of Bethlehem.

1773, the last, or ninth, part of the Row was erected, namely the Eastern addition to the "Sisters' House," that long stone structure which fronts Church Street. Hence it appears, that the Row as we now see it, was built at nine different times, during a period of thirty-two years.

We return to the history of the Chapel. For nearly fifty-five years, from the 10th of July, 1751, to the 18th of May, 1806, it constituted the Bethlehem Church. Within its walls, too, wild Indians confessed the Saviour and were baptized. Thirty-six such baptisms are recorded after its dedication, but some of these probably took place in the old Chapel. The first adult Indians baptized in the new, were a Delaware family, consisting of husband and wife—Tobias and Anna Maria—and one child, Gertrude. This was in the evening of Sunday, the 27th of February, 1752. In the midst of an overflowing congregation baptism was administered to Tobias by Martin Mack,* to Anna Maria by Bishop Hehl,† and to Gertrude by the Missionary Graff. Tobias had twelve male, and Anna Maria twelve female, members of the Bethlehem congregation as sponsors. Another notable baptism was that of Elizabeth, wife of Paxnous, of Wyoming, a celebrated Delaware chief. It took place in her husband's presence, with unusual solemnity, Bishop Spangenberg officiating, on the 17th of February, 1755, but a few months before the breaking out of that terrible Indian War in the course of which the Missionaries on the Mahoney were massacred.

The last Indian baptism in the Chapel, in old times, occurred on the 6th of January, 1763, when Bishop Peter Böhler baptized a young Delaware girl named Salome. In modern times, however, after the lapse of one hundred and four years, such an occasion again presented itself, on the 28th of February, 1867, when the writer of this article baptized three grandchildren of the late Hon. John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. They were, at that time, living at Bethlehem, but have now gone back to their own people.

In the ordinary ministrations of the sanctuary a number of

* One of the first settlers at Bethlehem, afterward a distinguished Missionary among the Indians, finally a Missionary Bishop in the W. I., where he died.

† For many years the Superintendent of a circuit of Moravian churches of which Litiz, Pa., was the centre.

clergymen at various times, officiated in this Chapel, of whom the most prominent were John Nitschman, Christopher Pyrlæus, Augustus Spangenberg, Nathaniel Seidel, Matthew Hehl, John Ettwein, Andrew Huebener, John F. Frueauff, Jeremiah Denke, Augustus Klingsohr, Jacob Van Vleck, George H. Loskiel, Christian F. Schaaf, and Andrew Benade. Here also, during the period of his second protracted visitation in America, from 1784 to 1787, often preached the venerable Bishop John de Watteville.*

Among the many visitors from different parts of the country who were attracted to Bethlehem, and who often worshipped with the Brethren in this sanctuary, we find some of the most distinguished characters of the American Revolution. Here George Washington, Horatio Gates, the Marquis La Fayette, and other Generals heard that Gospel which proclaims a crucified Saviour; here John Hancock, Samuel Adams, James Duane, Richard Henry Lee, William Duer, Henry Laurens, Benjamin Harrison, John Adams, Henry Marchant, William Williams, and other members of the Continental Congress, listened to the words of salvation as they fell from the lips of John Ettwein.

On the 25th of June, 1792, the semi-centenary of the Bethlehem congregation was observed with many solemnities. On that occasion an historical paper was read, setting forth, amongst the rest, that in the past fifty years, since the founding of Bethlehem, 150 white adults and 215 Indians and Negroes had been baptized in the two chapels, and 134 persons ordained to the holy Ministry, namely 5 Bishops, 27 Priests, and 102 Deacons.*

We are enabled to present an interior view of the Chapel and its adjacent buildings, four years later, as the same was described to us by the only survivor of the inmates of the *Gemein-Haus* in the last

* He was accompanied on this visitation by his wife, the Countess Benigna, Zinzendorf's eldest daughter, who, forty-two years before, had been in America with her father, and who now again took up her abode in that *Gemein-Haus* at the dedication of which she had been present, where she afterward lodged, and in which her oldest daughter was now domiciliated as the wife of John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz.

* These facts are obtained from memoranda written by the late Rev. John F. Frueauff at the time of the semi-centenary celebration. The memoranda say, further, that in the first half century of the existence of Bethlehem, 614 children were born; 625 persons were buried on the Church Ground; 800 Moravians immigrated to Bethlehem from Europe; and of the 80 persons who formed the first congregation, 7 were still living in 1792.

century. Mrs. Barbara Boehler, who died in 1865, as a matron of eighty-nine years, came to live in the *Gemein-Haus* in 1796, as housekeeper in the family of John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, and thus learned to know the structure thoroughly. At that time it was inhabited by six clergymen and their families. Jacob Van Vleck, Principal of the Female Boarding School, occupied the first floor of the West end, Mrs. Lydia Rice's present rooms, and Jeremiah Denke, the *Gemeinhelfer*, or principal Pastor, the second floor of the same end, now held by Mrs. Hillman. Augustus Klingsohr, the Minister of the Congregation, had the two front rooms of the second story of the middle part; the two rooms back of these, looking out on the yard, were one apartment called *Das Sälchen*—a part of the first Chapel—and devoted to betrothals and various private religious meetings. These are now the rooms of Rev. Peter Ricksecker, and of Mrs. Rose. Returning to the first floor by the Western staircase, we find where Mrs. Herbst lives, the apartment of John Jungman, who had been a faithful Missionary among the Indians, and was spending the evening of his life in retirement; and in the two front rooms—Mr. Anton's and Mr. Transue's—as well as in the two rooms at the Eastern end (Mrs. Lehman's), the dwelling of John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, the first Administrator of the American Property of the Unitas Fratrum.† His office was Mr. Anton's present room. The apartment on the first floor, back of the Eastern stair-case, formed the Vestry Room, where the clergy assembled before public service, and whence they moved in procession to the *Arbeiter-Bank* in the Chapel. On the second floor of the East end, the present new Vestry Room and the one adjoining, in the South-east corner (Mrs. Lehman's), were Bishop Ettwein's, who was President of the Provincial Conference. The hall-room, with an inside window toward the former Chapel-door—now the recess of the pulpit—was the robing-room for the clergy, where they put on their surplices on sacramental occasions. On the garret of the East end were the Archives of the Church.

Entering the Chapel itself, we see the Minister's table, covered with black cloth, on a low platform, about the middle of the Western

* From 1770, when he came to America and when this office was created, to 1867, when it ceased, there were five Administrators, namely, John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, John Gebhard Cunow, Lewis David de Schweinitz, son of the first, Philip H. Goepp, and Eugene A. Frueauff, grandson of the first.

wall. To the South of it, along the wall, sat the clergy, according to their official rank, on the so-called *Arbeiter-Bank* (clerical Bench)' and at the North of it, their wives and the female Superintendents of the "Sisters' House," on a similar bench. Facing the male *Arbeiter-Bank*, and therefore looking to the West, was the male membership of the congregation, and facing the female *Bank*, the female membership, the children in front on each side, according to their sex. Between the former side-door—closed up since the renovation—and the northern wall, running from east to west as the pews do now, were benches for the pupils of the Female Boarding School. The same side door was the entrance exclusively for females, who came from the green through the middle door of the central building and passed up a hall which is now converted into a room. Males, as also the clergy and their wives, entered the Chapel by the large door from the *Gemein-Haus*. On a narrow gallery above the present pulpit, was the organ, and the place for the church-musicians and singers. Between the several windows, around the entire Chapel, hung, in black frames, the paintings of Haidt above referred to, and setting forth the life of the Saviour, from His birth to His burial.

The central building was given up to the uses of the Female Boarding School,* and the rest of the Row was the "Sisters' House," as now.

Such is an interior view of the Chapel and of the other buildings sixty-nine years ago.

In 1803, when Bethlehem had a population of 580 souls, the third church was begun, the wonder of the whole neighborhood. Three years later, in 1806, it was finished in all its present dimensions, being at that time the largest church in Pennsylvania.

On the 18th of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, the last service was conducted in the Chapel, by Bishop Loskiel, a brief thanksgiving for the mercies which God had vouchsafed to His people as often as they had worshipped in this sanctuary. Then, while the trombonists played a melody known as "Unsern Ausgang segne Gott, unsern Eingang gleichermaszen," a procession, headed by the clergy, was formed, and the whole congregation moved

* The main building of this School no longer exists. It stood on the site of the present Parochial School.

solemnly into the present Church, which was thereupon dedicated with great rejoicing.

In the half century that followed, the "old Church," as it now came to be called, was put to different uses. First, it became the Chapel of the Female Boarding School, where the public examinations and exhibitions were held, until the institution was removed to its present locality, in 1815. Next, it was converted into an Archives-Room, in which the Library and Papers of the Church were arranged. These having been transferred to one of the East end apartments of the large Church, the Chapel was turned into a concert-hall for the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem. As such it was used for many years. During this period, however, while the late Rev. Charles F. Seidel was Principal of the Boarding School, English religious service was, at one time, statedly held in it; and in 1854, when the new pulpit was built and other alterations were made in the large Church, it was the place of worship for the whole congregation.

Fifty years after it had been vacated, on the first Sunday of 1856, it was a second time constituted a regular place of worship. Bethlehem was no longer a Moravian settlement. Its exclusive system had been given up for thirteen years; the town, thrown open to all, had greatly increased, and contained several churches of other denominations. The Moravian congregation, too, had received large accessions, and it became necessary to have two sanctuaries in which the Gospel could be simultaneously preached, in the English and the German languages. Hence, for eight years, the large church and the chapel were both used for stated worship, English and German services alternating in each. The last of these in the original chapel was held on Sunday, the 24th of July, 1864, and in the same week a complete renovation of this sanctuary was begun. Owing to the great difficulty of getting workmen, during the time of the Civil War which then prevailed, this undertaking was not completed until the Spring of the following year. On the 2d of April, 1865, the renovated Chapel was rededicated to the Triune God.

Three years later, in the summer of 1868, the extension of the *Gemein-Haus*, the oldest edifice in the Borough of Bethlehem, was completely renovated, to the satisfaction of its inmates, but the sorrow of all antiquaries. It now presents the appearance of a common tenement house, cased in painted boards.

REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS.

The originals of the following letters are in the Bethlehem Archives:

BOSTON, Nov'r, 1778.

Dear Sir:

This Letter will be delivered to you by Madame Reidesel, the Lady of Major-General Reidesel, to whom I entreat you will shew every Mark of Civility and Respect in your Power—Wise Reasons have determined Congress to direct the March of the Army under the Convention of Saratoga to Charlotteville, in Virginia. General Reidesel, his Lady and little Family, accompany the Troopes of their Prince—It is a painful and fatiguing Journey at this Season of the Year. I doubt not your Hospitable Disposition will render it as pleasant as possible, and that without my Recommendations, you naturally would indulge the Sentiments which influence the Gentleman and the Citizen of the World.

I am,
Dear Sir,
Your Affectionate
Humble Servant,
HORATIO GATES.

Addressed to the Rev. Mr. Ettwein, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

To the Committee of the Town of Bethlehem, or Others whom it may Concern:

Gentlemen:

According to his Excellency General Washington's Orders, the General Hospital of the Army is removed to Bethle-

hem, and you will do the greatest Act of humanity by immediately providing proper buildings for their reception, the largest and most Capacious will be the most convenient. I doubt not, Gentlemen, but you will act upon this occasion as becomes Men and Christians; Doct'r Baldwin, the Gentleman who waits upon you with this, is sent upon the Business of Providing proper Acomodations for the Sick; begging therefore that you will afford him all possible Assistance, I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN WARREN, Gen'l Hospit'l Surg'n and P. T. Direct.

HANOVER, GEN'L HOSPIT'L, Decem'r 1, 1776.

My d'r Sir:

It gives me pain to be obliged by order of Congress to send my sick and wounded Soldiers to your peaceable village—but so it is.—Your large buildings must be appropriated to their use. We will want room for 2000 at Bethlehem, Easton, Northampton, &c., and you may expect them on Saturday or Sunday.—I send Dr. Jackson before them that you may have time to order your affairs in the best manner—These are dreadful times, consequences of unnatural Wars—I am truly concerned for your Society and wish sincerely this Stroke could be averted but 'tis impossible —I beg Mr. Hasse's Assistance—love and Compliments to all friends from my d'r Sir

Your affectionate
humble Serv't
W. SHIPPEN,
D. G.

TRENTON, Sept. 18, 1777.

Addressed to the Rev. Mr. Edwin [Ettwein], Bethlehem.

A SCRAP FROM THE HISTORY OF BETHLEHEM, DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The following brief, but pithy notes, each an autograph, and all written on the same sheet, are in the Archives at Bethlehem. They relate to that period of the Revolutionary War when the Brethren's House had been converted into the United States General Hospital.

Sir.

The Bearer, Mr. Carr, is in possession of Part of a House near the Fulling-Mill, the owner of which wants to put him out. He has applied to me for leave to stay until he is sufficiently well to shift for himself, as he is to all Itents and purposes an Invalid. I have told him it was not in my Power to do anything in his favour. He then desired me to write to you for advice and assistance, for if he is turned out he has no chance of having his cure completed. I am

with respect

your very humble servt

SAML FINLEY.

BETHLEHEM, Jan. 6, 1778.

COL. CROPPER.

In complyance with the request afsd, these do certify that Mr Carr is not to be moved until my orders.

Given under my hand at Bethlehem 6th Janu.

JOHN CROPPER

Lieut. Col.

Col. Cropper has none to command in Bethlehem but his soldiers. Therefore we cannot receive his orders. Mr. Carr does not belong to the Hospital; we want the Place where he is, and he must move without Delay.

JOHN ETTWEIN.

At the bottom of this sheet is the following:

N. B. Was directly fetched away by Mr. Finley into the Hospital.

A LETTER FROM BISHOP SPANGENBERG TO REV. JOHN ROGERS, OF PHILADELPHIA.

This letter was written in English by Bishop Spangenberg, and is addressed to the Pastor of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia. The original is preserved in a private collection of autographs.

BETHLEHEM, January 25, 1761.

My dear brother Rogers,

The last news I had from Carolina came by a letter of Br. Ettweins d. d. Nov. 20. a. c. He says therein twice, that all is well, both young and old, and mentions your daughter especially by name. Here is his letter to me, which I desire you will remit with the first opportunity.

Br. Post set out for Bethabara from Bethlehem the 22 m. c. With him I sent your letters, and many more. May the Lord be with him, and bring him home safe and well to Wachovia, and back again. He is to take his way by Litiz, where Br. Matthæus is to send with him what accounts he hath already in his hands for Bethabara.

I have wrote to Europe to Br. Johannes, on account of our settlement in Wachovia, and hoping that some Brethren and Sisters will come with Br. Nathaniel, next Spring, for Wachovia. I doubt not but a wagon will go there, and that with such an opportunity Johanna Salome* may come to Bethlehem. May the Lord order all things for good.

Inclosed is a letter to Br. Sam. Isles, who is now become a widower, and his Daughter an orphan. You can easily imagine that her case is harder than Johanna Salome's. She not having one of the sisters to take care for her. However the Father of orphans will bring about what is good for her. She is to come with her father as soon as the Brethren arrive in Antigua, who, a good while ago, were to go there from England. I pray, my dear Brother, forward the said letter to Br. Isles as soon as possible.

My poor Brethren and Sisters at Jamaica! I pity them very much on account of the loss they had lately with the vessel taken by a French privateer. It would be better for the French privateers to take something else, than the letters and other writings of the Brethren. However such is the case of our Times, till the Lord pleases to restore peace again.

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* Rogers' daughter.

As for your endeavors in Philadelphia to acquaint many poor things with their Lord and Saviour, I know very well that this is a hard Task. The Genius of the People is as Horace says: *O cives! cives! quærenda pecunia primum, virtus post nummos.* And when they set their minds upon religion, they will prefer the way of works, before the way of faith. For the way of works makes a shew, and People can say: what can we do? we are poor sinful creatures!

However I think a Pulpit in a city like Philadelphia is worth a great deal. There comes now one, and then another, to hear: and the Gospel being the power of God can't be without Blessings. But, my dear Heart, think of Corinth! think of Rome! Were the people better there than they are now at Philadelphia, and yet, by the Gospel, a fine flock was gathered there for our good Lord. Think of London! Think of Berlin! Think of Copenhagen! etc. What sort of people live there? The same as in Philadelphia: and yet fine congregations are actually there now. Let your Prayers and Tears go before your preaching. Let the words, which you speak, be sprinkled with the blood of the Lamb: and be sure you will bring one heart, and then another etc, to his wounds, and the enjoyment of his Blessings.

That our Dear Children in Philadelphia begin to taste the verses of our Hymns, is great joy to me. Go on, my dear Brother, with them; and improve that grace which, like a spark, is now in them. But pray, tell me, should not they meet oftener than once a week? Should not they come twice or three times at least in a week, to sing together, and to be spoke to?

If it be so, as you think, that the English will sooner be prevailed upon by the Gospel, whenever a fresh awakening, by his grace, shall begin, than the Germans, it will make me very glad. For I am extremely sorry, that so little has been done amongst the English, since the time the Brethren came to America. One young man, viz., John Levering, who is now in Jamaica, was gained from the English, and that is all. Old England hath given more fellow-labourers in one year, than America in twenty years, from the English Nation.

I think, however, the fault is not altogether in the English people residing in America. Not so much care hath been taken of them, as might have been done. Many would have made good

Brethren, had they come in Time out of the circumstances which kept them entangled. For what can become of them, when they continue in the Towns, where every Thing is apt to ruin them, even their nearest relations?

I must conclude my letter, being

my D'r Br.

Yr affectionate Br.

JOSEPH.

P. S.

Many salutations to you from Br. Petrus, Lawatsch, my wife etc.

Qu. 1.

How is it with the subscriptions? Could not your share for the *Mitleidenheit* be sent? I want to remit some money to Europe for that purpose.

Qu. 2.

Shady was one of the stewards; whom do you propose in his place?

Qu. 3.

Are all your People satisfied, if your communion-liturgy is quite English? If they are, I am.